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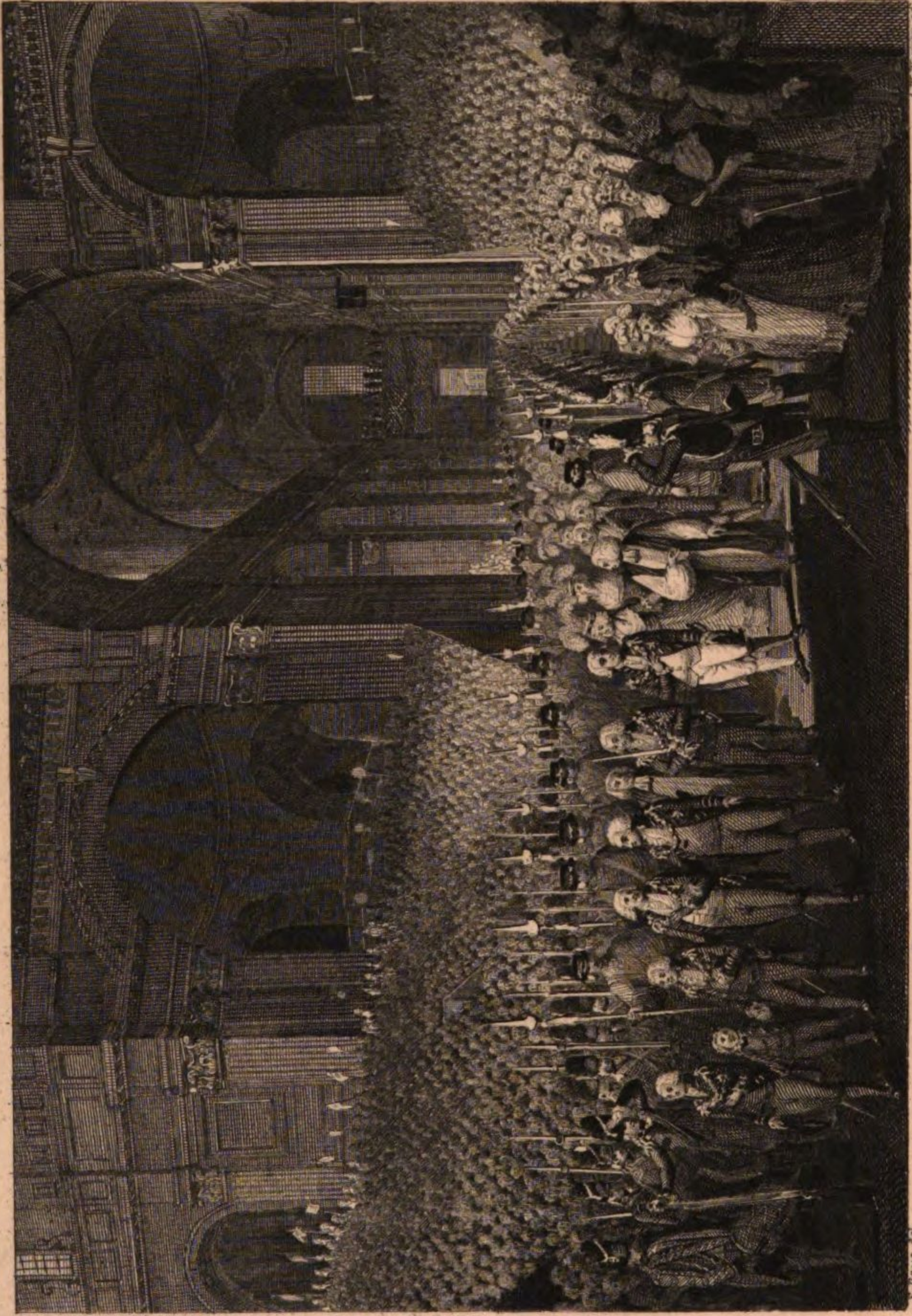
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THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

VOL. XVIII.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

VOL. XIII



INTERIOR OF ST PAULS.

General Thanksgiving for the Recovery of George III.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

BY

MITCHELL AND SMOLLETT;

WITH

A CONTINUATION

BY

THE REV. T. S. HUGHES, B.D.

VOL. XXIII.



Death of Marion

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1835.



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VOL. XVIII.



Death of Abercrombie.

L O N D O N :

A. J. VALPY, M. A.

1835.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

THE FIRST VOLUME

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE

REIGN OF HENRY II.

THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

BY

THE REV. T. S. HUGHES, B.D.

FROM THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND IN 1760.

With Historical Illustrations and Portraits.

A.D. 1795 to A.D. 1806.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

TO

THE EIGHTEENTH VOLUME.

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1. Interior of St. Paul's Cathedral, at the general
thanksgiving for the recovery of George III.,
1789 Frontispiece.
 2. Death of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, 1801 . . . Vignette.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

III. STUARTS

THE COMMONWEALTH

GEORGE III. (1760-1820)

George III. was born on 4 June 1739, and was the fifth son of Frederick Prince of Wales, and the second son of George II. He was educated at Westminster School, and then at Christ Church, Oxford. He succeeded to the throne on 25 October 1760, at the age of twenty-one. His reign was marked by the American Revolution, the French Revolution, and the Napoleonic Wars. He was a strong supporter of the British Empire, and his reign saw the expansion of the empire to its greatest extent. He was also a patron of the arts, and his reign saw the construction of many great buildings, including the Royal Albert Hall and the Crystal Palace. He died on 29 January 1820, at the age of eighty.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1795.

Annexation of Holland to France, and change of relations among European states—Separate peace made by Prussia, and neutrality of the northern states of Germany—Peace made by Spain and Tuscany—State of France—State of England as a principal in the coalition, &c.—Different sentiments of opposition and ministerial members in the British parliament respecting peace—Sentiments of Mr. Burke—Bill for the suspension of the habeas corpus act continued—Subsidy to Austria—Supplies, &c.—Mr. Pitt's plan to man the navy—Mr. Windham's militia bill—Addition made to soldiers' pay without the knowledge of parliament—Slave trade—Termination of Mr. Hastings's trial—Motion for inquiry into the state of the nation, rejected—Marriage of the prince of Wales—Settlement made by parliament, &c.—Affairs of Ireland—Recall of earl Fitzwilliam—Earl Camden viceroy—Establishment of Maynooth-college—Progress of revolutionary principles—Insurrection act—Formation of Orange societies—Institution of armed yeomanry—Inter-course of united Irishmen with the French directory—Naval affairs in the Mediterranean—Campaign of the Alps—Victory of Loano—Affairs of La Vendée—Armies on the Rhine, &c. under Moreau, Jourdan, and Pichegru—Military transactions—Negociation between the prince de Condé and Pichegru—Fortune turns in favor of the Austrians—Suspension of arms—Affairs of the French government at Paris, and the formation of a new constitution—Revolt of the sections suppressed by Napoleon Buonaparte—Establishment of the directory—Buonaparte made general of the army of the interior—His marriage,

&c.—State of the public mind in England—Early opening of the session of parliament—Attack on his majesty's life—Proceedings consequent on it—Bills to prevent seditious meetings—Hostilities commenced against the Dutch—Efforts made by the French to recover their West Indian possessions—Critical state of the country on account of the scarcity of corn—Army, navy, and supplies, &c.—Opinions respecting the war—King's message respecting a pacification—Discussions on it, and the state of the nation, &c.—Birth of the princess Charlotte—Separation of her parents, &c.—Riotous conduct of the populace—Daniel Eaton—Views of the king, Mr. Pitt, &c. confirmed by the returns at the general election—Nature of the government—Vigorous preparations for war—Burke's 'Letters on a Regicide Peace'—His views of the war.

Who, that saw the ancient majesty and power of Europe, all that was splendid in fame or venerable in establishment, arrayed against a single nation, could have divined that discomfiture and disgrace was to be the destined portion of such a coalition? yet this was the case: the conquest of Holland, and its annexation to France, secured to the latter country possession of Belgium; excluded the British army from the continent; and altogether changed the situation of Prussia and the north of Germany. A treaty of amity was concluded between the French and Batavian republics, on the sixteenth of May; the principal conditions of which were, the payment of one hundred million of guilders by the latter; the relinquishment of Dutch Flanders in consideration of a future compensation; and the use in common of the harbor of Vlissingen: add to this, the Dutch bound themselves to aid the French with twelve ships of the line and eighteen frigates, as well as with half the troops which they had under arms. Nothing in the mean time had been able to eradicate the mutual distrust between Austria and Prussia, cherished as it had been for half a century; beside which, the most unaccountable exhaustion of the Prussian finances had taken place: not more than a fourth of her army could be brought into the field; and subsidies were sought from England apparently for the sake of the money, not of the war. Thus weakened, and left unprotected against the attack of France, Prussia, instead of rousing herself to effect a sincere and active coalition, concluded a separate treaty at Basle on the fifth of April, leaving France in possession of her provinces on the left bank of the Rhine; while a line of demarcation was at the same time fixed for the neutrality of Hanover and the northern states of Germany. Thus half the empire was withdrawn from the confederacy,

and Austria was left to contend single-handed with the power of France : the battle of Jena and the treaty of Tilsit were the consequences of this defection.

Meanwhile, a union for mutual defence was formed ; and a grand confederacy, such as Frederic the Great had contemplated, with Prussia for a centre, might have been effected : but how was confidence to exist after the last dismemberment of Poland ; and when the secret compact soon transpired, that Prussia was to be indemnified for her sacrifices at the expense of her fellow states ?¹

Another ally soon afterwards seceded from the coalition. The Spaniards, defeated both in Biscay and Catalonia, sued for peace, which was conceded to them also at Basle in July ; France restoring all her conquests, and receiving the Spanish portion of St. Domingo as a compensation. Even previous to the treaty with Prussia, the convention had concluded peace with the grand duke of Tuscany ; and the Piedmontese, driven over the summit of the Alps, were trembling for their Italian possessions. From a state of the deepest depression, France had passed at once to triumphs greater than had ever graced the proudest period of Louis XIV. : by sparing neither blood nor treasure to accomplish their objects ; by bringing up column after column to the attack, with a merciless prodigality of life ; by unscrupulously drawing on the wealth of one half of the nation in confiscations, and of the other in assignats, the committee of public safety had produced a force which was, for a time, irresistible : the revolutionary fever too was still burning ; 1,500,000 men were in arms to conquer for the republic ; while an impregnable barrier of fortified towns surrounded its frontiers.

But the half-ruined coalition was not yet wholly to be disunited : the continuation of a continental war was important to England ; and it was prosecuted at her cost in every country. Who did not solicit money, and who did not obtain it ? Posterity will scarcely credit the amount of loans which were raised, and burdens which were cast on the people : nothing could have enabled them to sustain these but a vast and rapid increase of income arising from foreign trade : to promote this, by excluding others from its advantages, was a main object of ministerial exertion ; and England's grand sup-

¹ By secularisations in Munster and elsewhere, according to convenience and agreement ; for Orange in Wurzburg and Bamberg. Heeren, vol. ii. p. 187.

port was foreign commerce, embracing every quarter of the globe. Thus the war of the revolution took a commercial as well as an anti-revolutionary character; the dominion of the seas, and the conquest of hostile colonies, being the sole conditions under which the British system could be maintained.

After the secession of Holland, Prussia, and Spain, England redoubled her exertions to keep up a continental coalition. Austria required nothing but money: she had suffered too much by her losses in the Low Countries to permit her to think of peace; while her disasters were not yet so great, as to compel her to renounce all hope of regaining them: no sanguinary contests, such as signalised in so terrible a manner the latter part of this war, had as yet taken place; not a victory had been won at the expense of 6000 men to the vanquished. Early in the year, an alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded between Great Britain, Austria, and Russia; but this first step toward that decisive interference in the contest, which was ultimately taken by the autocrat of the north, was not productive of any important results: the czarina, whose attention was engrossed by her unjust acquisitions in Poland, merely sent a fleet of twelve ships of the line and eight frigates to join admiral Duncan, who was blockading the squadron which France had recently acquired from the Dutch republic.

Many were the motions brought forward in the British parliament, during the present session, by members of the opposition, recommending pacification with France: the government of that country was represented as no longer revolutionary, but as one which both professed and practised moderation: thus, it was said, the great object of the war was gained; while it was urged, that the continued disasters of the allies proved the impossibility of forcing on France a government contrary to the inclinations of its people; and if we continued fighting for the restoration of the Bourbons, no end appeared to the contest. Nevertheless, the sentiments of ministers prevailed, whose objections to peace began to rest more and more on arguments taken from the internal constitution of France: though they did not directly state the restoration of monarchy as a condition of peace; yet, professing to make war for the sake of security, they plainly intimated their opinion that no other means of security existed but the re-establishment of royalty. They chiefly contended, however, that the government of the French republic was changed in form only, not in spirit, and its hatred to this country was irreconcilable;

that its principal motive for making separate treaties with other nations was, that it might turn its whole force against Great Britain; and that to acknowledge the legitimacy of such a government, which must be done in the case of negotiations for peace, would be to declare all other governments founded on principles of injustice; would be not only to disgrace, but to ruin our own constitution. It was also argued, that the losses of the French had been greater than all those of the allies put together; that their forced requisitions could not be kept up without severities like those of the reign of terror; and that now was the time, by vigorous means, to compel the government to augment its redundant paper currency, which would soon complete the ruin of its financial resources. Parliament, notwithstanding the unfortunate result of our arms, and the existence of a large mass of discontent, was favorable to a continuation of the contest; but if we are to judge from the private correspondence of the great organ of the war faction, we shall conclude that very gloomy presentiments possessed the minds of those who appeared most strenuous for it, and most sanguine as to its results. It is thus that Mr. Burke writes, on the sixth of February, to Mr. Wilmot, manager of the subscriptions for the relief of the French emigrants:—‘It seems decided that some great change is to take place in the whole of human affairs: the only thing which appears to me consolatory, is the magnanimity of the king and the two houses: we have still, and so have some other nations, resources enough, if we have the spirit and the skill to use them. If I thought, that they who find no resource but in submission to a cruel and implacable, and now the most powerful enemy that this country ever had, acted only from pusillanimity, we might have hopes that necessity would generate courage; but I know that they are of another character; men bold and confident in the extreme. When, therefore, I see the bold playing the part of the feeble and pusillanimous, I do not consider them as shrinking from an enemy, but as acting in his favor: this is very alarming; and the more so, as, for the first time in our struggle with France, whatever form it might appear in, its dangerous power and extravagant ambition has disarmed our councils and weakened our efforts: but I still praise the wisdom and spirit of those who resist the great dangers that environ us both from without and from within; and God may, while these dissensions last, raise up some great military character to save us.’²

² Ellis's Original Letters, second series, vol. iv. p. 541.

Arguments, for the attainment of peace, were repeatedly brought forward during the session;³ but the pacific propositions founded on them were successively negatived. In lieu of a conciliatory proposal of the duke of Bedford, lord Grenville successfully moved, that a vigorous prosecution of the war would be the most effectual method of procuring a solid and permanent peace.

Such being the sentiments of the legislature, the attorney-general, on the fifteenth of January, brought in a bill to continue the suspension of the habeas corpus act for a limited time; and it passed both houses, with a protest in that of the lords, signed by the dukes of Norfolk and Bedford, and the earls of Lauderdale and Guilford. A motion for the repeal of the suspension bill had been previously made by Mr. Sheridan, on the fifth of January, on the ground of its preamble, which stated that a dangerous and treasonable conspiracy existed in this country; but a verdict in court had shown this conspiracy to have been a mere fabrication: no treason had been brought to light; the alleged ground of the suspension did not exist; therefore the suspension, which in fact suspended the whole constitution of the realm, was unnecessary. Mr. Windham, who had imbibed all Mr. Burke's notions regarding the present contest, maintained that the favorable verdicts in the late trials arose from the ignorance and incapacity of the juries to discern the true state of the case: the real object, he observed, of the societies in question was to overturn the constitution; and the principles imported from France would produce the worst effects unless they were opposed with the strictest vigilance. The determination of a jury was no proof of the non-existence of a conspiracy; the guilty were often acquitted in courts of justice, not because they were considered innocent, but merely because there was no strictly legal evidence to confirm the truth: a doubt of their guilt, in the breasts of the jury, was sufficient to free them from punishment, but not to clear their character: the verdict in their favor could not therefore operate as a motive for repealing the act, even if it were admitted that their indictment for high treason had not been supported by legal proofs; but if the judicious and unbiassed public looked on them as guilty of an

³ By lord Stanhope on the sixth of January, by Mr. Grey on the twenty-sixth of February, by the duke of Bedford on the twenty-seventh of February, and by Mr. Wilberforce on the twenty-seventh of May.

attempt, for which the law had not duly provided, it was the duty of parliament to make such provision.

Mr. Pitt having delivered to the house of commons a message from the king, intimating that a loan of £4,600,000 would be wanted to aid the exertions of his imperial majesty in the ensuing campaign, to be advanced on the credit of his hereditary dominions,—a considerable discussion arose; in the course of which, Mr. Fox said, that the recent defalcation of the king of Prussia, immediately after he had pocketed the English gold, ought to operate as a caution against all advances to German princes; nor had he any confidence in the efficacy of the proposed loan: Sir William Pulteney, on the contrary, entertained a very high opinion of its probable utility. Lord Grenville, in the upper house, had so much reliance on the promised exertions of his imperial majesty, that he would rather consent to make him a present of the desired sum, than lose the chance of his beneficial co-operation: the marquis of Lansdowne argued strongly against any connexion with Germany; but the proposition was agreed to by large majorities.

On the twenty-third of February the minister submitted his annual statement of the supplies, as well as the ways and means, to the consideration of the house. The number of men required for the service of the present year was 85,000 seamen and 15,000 marines; 120,000 regulars, 66,000 militia, and 40,000 men, partly for Ireland, and partly for the plantations; beside fencibles and volunteers, foreign troops in British pay, and embodied emigrants. The sum demanded to maintain these forces, with the ordnance and extraordinaries, amounted to £27,540,000; and the loan proposed was £18,000,000, being the largest that parliament had ever voted up to this period. New taxes were imposed on wine, spirits, tea, coffee, insurances, hair-powder, &c.; which, with an abridgment of the privilege of franking, were estimated to produce £1,644,000; of which £357,000 were to be applied to the progressive reduction of the national debt. As a counterpoise for these additional burdens, the minister mentioned, in terms of high satisfaction, the unexampled increase of our commerce in the preceding year. The loan, having been raised by private contract, and not by open competition, was severely censured: the terms were alleged to be at least five per cent. more favorable than was necessary to the contractors.

As it became expedient to consider what might be the most speedy and effectual means for levying soldiers and sailors, Mr. Pitt brought forward a new plan for manning the navy,

without throwing the burden so heavily on a particular class of the community by press warrants. As the proprietors of merchantmen were most deeply interested in maintaining our naval superiority, he proposed that each ship, on clearing out, should furnish a certain number of men, according to its tonnage; with a smaller proportion from the coasting trade, and a certain number from those employed in inland navigation: beside which, every parish in the kingdom should furnish one man. After a few modifications, this proposition passed into a law, and officers were appointed to superintend the levies. Mr. Windham, as secretary at war, reviewed the means of internal defence, and carried a proposition for improving the discipline and augmenting the numbers of the militia; which was opposed by Fox and Sheridan, as tending to increase the influence of ministers, and as preparatory to the establishment of arbitrary power. This year had been remarkable for scarcity and dearth: the price of provisions was so high, that the pay of the soldiers was wholly insufficient; and government, without applying to parliament, had granted them an extraordinary allowance: humane and necessary as the measure was, it was represented as inexcusable while parliament was sitting; and a resolution was proposed, declaring it illegal to augment the pay of the army without the consent of the legislature. Ministers, however, defended the measure, as merely temporary, and the result of necessity: after a warm discussion, which embraced many constitutional topics, the motion was negatived.

On the twenty-sixth of February, Mr. Wilberforce brought again before the house of commons the subject of the slave trade, by a proposition for its final abolition: it was opposed, as before, by the West Indian interest; and on a division, the motion was postponed for six months by a majority of seventeen. The trial of Mr. Hastings terminated this year, on the twenty-third of April, after the public interest in it had been diminished by its prolongation, and at length superseded by subjects of overwhelming importance: only twenty-nine peers assembled at the final judgment; to each of whom every one of the sixteen articles was put separately, with the question of guilty or not guilty: the general result was, that on two charges he was unanimously acquitted; with respect to the others, votes varied from three to six guilty, against the remainder not guilty: the lord chancellor then pronounced him acquitted of all the charges; on which, the ex-governor bowed to the court, and retired in silence from its bar. The public

appeared generally satisfied with the result of the trial ; though few were found who did not think it was necessary, in order to clear the honor of the nation, and prove to the oppressed inhabitants of India that in England they would still find avengers.

It can be no more denied that certain portions of the conduct of this eminent statesman were inconsistent with the rules of British justice, and the sentiments of humanity ; than that his political abilities secured the authority, and established the dominion, of this country over the East. Conscious of the immense advantages they had derived from his exertions, the East India company discharged the costs of his trial, amounting to upwards of £70,000 : they also voted a pecuniary donation, to remove from indigence so illustrious a servant, who had confessedly attended more to their interests than to his own.

Perceiving that ministers, and a great majority in parliament, were totally averse to reconciliation with France, opposition determined at once to try their strength, by an inquiry into the state of the nation : the management of this momentous question was entrusted to Mr. Fox, who moved for a committee on the twenty-fourth of March : his introductory speech on this occasion was one of transcendent ability, and characterised by his illustrious opponent, as ‘ among the most eloquent ever delivered in that house.’ After showing the necessity that existed for inquiry, in the rapid progress of the enemy, and their acquired superiority ; in the losses sustained by our armies ; in our vast expenditure and increased taxation, as well as in the useless subsidies which we scattered abroad with so much prodigality ; he turned attention to the affairs of Ireland, the recall of its lord-lieutenant which had lately taken place, and the general irritation of its inhabitants : he alluded also to the dissatisfaction prevalent in England, where an opinion was gaining ground, that the commons could not fairly represent the nation, from their undeviating compliance with every measure proposed by ministers, notwithstanding their ill conduct in the prosecution of the war. What, he asked, were the grounds for so extraordinary a confidence in men, whose schemes were continually miscarrying ? Even supposing the war had been just, which question he was not now canvassing, did the succession of plans and series of events afford any reason for reposing unlimited confidence in his majesty’s present counsellors, as wise, energetic, and effective war ministers ? If they really deserved confidence, they would not resist inquiry : men who dreaded a scrutiny into their

conduct, afforded a strong presumption that it would not bear examination : no man, conscious of the able and upright discharge of his duty, would flinch from any investigation into his actions.

Mr. Pitt objected to inquiry on the extensive plan proposed, as being incompatible with other parliamentary business : part of the proposer's objects also were inexpedient and unreasonable : he had exaggerated our losses, detracted from our advantages, and exhibited on the whole an unfair statement of our situation. The condition of Ireland, which Mr. Fox had made only a collateral subject of discussion, Mr. Pitt treated as if it had been introduced as a point of fundamental importance ; directing to its agitation the greater part of his argument and declamation : Mr. Canning followed his patron in the same course ; but adroitly avoided all recognition of those principles, of which he was afterwards so distinguished an advocate. The question of Roman catholic emancipation, said he, as far as he could judge from report, appeared to be intimately connected with the present situation of Irish affairs, and to involve in it the justification or condemnation of one or other of his majesty's ministers : whichever it might be, that in the end should appear culpable or innocent, how difficult would it be to come to any conclusion on their conduct, without advancing by the way some declaration of opinion on the catholic question ! and whatever that opinion might be, how could a member of the British house of commons consent to degrade that house to a mere debating club, deliberating and deciding without effect ? or what friend of Irish independence could tamely suffer a vote of the British parliament to anticipate the judgment, and dictate the decision, of the Irish legislature, on a subject so nearly and so exclusively connected with the rights and interests of his country ?

It was replied by Messrs. Sheridan and Fox, that the minister, instead of meeting, had only shifted the question ; that if Mr. Fox had misrepresented the state of the country, the means of refuting him lay not in mere assertions of the party accused, but in a fair investigation of conduct. Their arguments, however, had no weight with the majority of the house : credit was given to ministers on their claims to confidence, and the motion was rejected ; as also was a similar proposition, brought forward by lord Guilford in the house of peers. Specific motions were afterwards made in both houses for an inquiry respecting Irish affairs, but with as little success.

In April the princess Caroline of Brunswick arrived in England, and was received with every mark of distinction due to her birth and contracted alliance: on the eighth the inauspicious nuptials were celebrated; whilst it was generally understood that his royal highness was influenced in forming this connexion by the promise of an ample provision to pay his enormous debts, which now amounted to more than £600,000: this is more than probable from his known attachment at the time to Mrs. Fitzherbert, with whom, it was stated, the marriage ceremony, though invalid by law, had taken place. On the twenty-seventh of April, his majesty, who was in a very unpleasant dilemma, from having declared in 1787 that no farther debts should be incurred by the prince, sent a message to the house, announcing the marriage; at the same time, he expressed deep regret in being obliged to declare, that the benefit of any settlement which might then be made, could not be effectually secured to his royal highness, without providing him with the means of liberating himself from the large encumbrances to which he was liable: he, however, disclaimed all idea of proposing that parliament should make any specific provision for that object; and he earnestly requested the house to take into consideration the propriety of providing for the gradual discharge of those encumbrances, by the reservation, for a time, of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, as well as of a proportion of the prince's annual income.

After some discussion, the house determined to settle on his royal highness an income of £125,000, together with the revenue of the duchy of Cornwall, estimated at £13,000, of which £75,000 annually should be applied to the liquidation of his debts; and that a law should be passed, to prevent the heir-apparent, in future, from being involved in similar difficulties: a jointure also of £50,000 per annum was settled on the princess of Wales, in case of her surviving her royal consort: the discussion of this question, however, created great dissatisfaction in the nation at large; and much indiscriminate censure was cast both on the king and the queen. Events will testify, that the period in which such additional burdens were imposed on the people, was, of all others, most dangerous to the interests of royalty; and that they tended to increase the disaffection and disloyalty which began to appear in a very large portion of the community.

Allusion has been already made to the affairs of Ireland, which formed a very important subject of consideration during the present session. The bill of 1793, so much desired by the

catholics, had not had the desired effect in conciliating the people, or stopping the progress of the united Irishmen ; for early in the following year they published a plan of equal representation of the people, on the principle of universal suffrage ; and before its conclusion, their association became secret, and decidedly revolutionary ; so that the interposition of government soon became necessary. A charge of treasonable correspondence with the French rulers was brought against Archibald Hamilton Rowan, who had been before found guilty, and was suffering imprisonment for circulating the manifesto ; but before he could be brought to trial on it, he effected his escape from jail, and fled to the continent : thither he was followed by the celebrated democrat, James Napper Tandy, who had given bail to stand his trial at Dundalk ; and by Theobald Wolfe Tone, a lawyer of talent, and the principal framer of the society of united Irishmen. Rowan was supposed to be implicated in this treasonable correspondence with the Rev. William Jackson, a protestant clergyman, who was tried next year and found guilty ; but who expired at the bar of the court, after swallowing a dose of poison, to avoid the shame of a public execution. All these circumstances tended to show that there was very little probability of pacifying Ireland by means of catholic emancipation, carried to the utmost extent possible : earl Fitzwilliam, however, the present lord-lieutenant, thought otherwise, and determined to try the efficacy of that measure ; which, as he afterwards declared,⁴ he was authorised to carry into effect when he accepted the office of viceroy : according, therefore, to the supposed spirit of his instructions, he commenced, by removing from their places, but with suitable compensations, such servants of government as were averse to his proceedings ; among whom was the right hon. John Beresford, first commissioner of the revenue, whose family, always inimical to the catholic claims, had ever been most ardent in support of ministerial measures. The steps for accelerating emancipation passed without any animadversion, but the dismissal of Mr. Beresford and his adherents gave great offence to the English cabinet ; and as the lord-lieutenant refused to alter his arrangements, they determined to recall him : in the mean time, a bill had been brought into the Irish house of commons, by Mr. Henry Grattan, to repeal all the remaining disqualifications of the catholics ; and received so favorably, that only three dis-

⁴ See his letter to lord Carlisle.

sentient voices were heard against it : accordingly, when the recall of the lord-lieutenant was rumored abroad, a deputation from the catholic body was despatched with a petition to the king, deprecating the removal of a viceroy, whose popularity was so great, that the extraordinary supply of £1,700,000 had been voted without any opposition. The deputies were most graciously received, but the object of their mission was not accomplished ; for on the twenty-fifth of March earl Fitzwilliam resigned his vice-regal government, and left behind him sincere regret among the Irish people. When he arrived in England, he made his appearance in the house of lords, and challenged ministers to prove that his measures deserved the censure which their conduct implied : they, however, contended, that as no blame was cast on his lordship, no inquiry was necessary for his vindication ; whilst important reasons of state rendered the discussion of Irish affairs altogether improper : the motions made in both houses for an investigation were accordingly rejected.

The administration of lord Camden, successor to the popular earl Fitzwilliam, had an ominous commencement ; for on the thirty-first of March, when he was sworn into office, the mob violently assaulted the primate with lord chancellor Fitzgibbon, on their return from the castle, and wounded the latter, with a stone, on the head. He was particularly obnoxious to the lower orders from his strenuous opposition to complete catholic emancipation ; a bill for which was brought forward on the fourth of May, and, after a violent debate, protracted through the night till near eleven o'clock next morning, was rejected by a large majority : in compliance, however, with a memorial of the preceding year from the Roman catholic prelates, addressed to the earl of Westmorland, a motion was carried this session, for the establishment of a college at Maynooth, for the education of young Irishmen destined for the priesthood, and now deprived of the advantages of foreign universities by the disordered state of the continent : a sum of £40,000 was granted in the first instance ; and in every successive session a regular charge of £8000 has been brought before parliament for its support. The ill effects of this measure, in the degradation of the Irish priesthood, and the oppression by them of the miserable people, were probably not foreseen ; but they have been incalculable ; and they remain still the strongest of all barriers against the improvement of Ireland : previous to this establishment at Maynooth, the

catholics had obtained permission to study at the university of Dublin.

Such indulgences, however, were not sufficient to satisfy them: *defenders* increased in numbers, and began to assume a very menacing attitude: their bands, however, included only the lower classes; but the united Irishmen began, at this time, to form a new system, combining malcontents of every class, and every religious persuasion, against the government. Each admitted member took an oath of secrecy; and though reform in parliament was still the avowed object of association, yet the words of the test were altered; and, the very name of parliament being omitted, 'a full and adequate representation of all the people of Ireland' was the form now substituted: its object was to draw reformers into a combination with republicans, which latter entertained hopes of assistance in their schemes from the French government. Toward the end of the year, discontent and disaffection became so general, that the existing laws were deemed insufficient to repress popular violence; in consequence of which, a measure, which nothing but the strongest necessity could justify, was put into practice in the western counties. The magistrates there were accustomed to assemble, at the requisition of lord Carhampton, who held a military command; and, after examining charges against persons confined in jail, as defenders, or otherwise engaged in illegal practices, they would send those who appeared most guilty to serve on board the navy; and these orders his lordship undertook to see executed. His conduct was as much applauded by government as condemned by opposition; and a subsequent bill of indemnity was carried to secure the magistrates from danger. In the next session of parliament, which commenced in January, an act was passed, legally investing the magistrates with that authority which a portion of them had assumed: this was termed the insurrection act; which authorised the lord-lieutenant and council, on a petition from seven magistrates of a county assembled at a session of the peace, to proclaim that county, or any district of it, in a state of disturbance; and to give the magistrates authority to search for arms, and treat as culprits, all persons, who, without sufficient excuse, should be discovered out of their houses at unseasonable hours: they might also seize on such as could not give a satisfactory account of themselves, and, in default of bail, send them on board the fleet: it also enacted that the administering of trea-

sonable oaths was a capital offence; and that in case a witness was murdered, as frequently happened before a trial, his written testimony should be considered as evidence. In October, the suspension of the habeas corpus act took place, which enabled the agents of government to imprison obnoxious or suspected persons, without any cause assigned, or any time of trial appointed.

While such measures of security were taken against the disaffected in Ireland, a body of men combined together, with the professed purpose of assisting government; though their real object was a general persecution and proscription of the catholics. The hostile conflicts occasioned by religious animosity, having long continued between the peep-of-day boys and defenders, the former, being joined towards the end of 1795 by some other protestants, took the name of Orangemen, and formed themselves into an association in the county of Armagh, with a grand master and his deputy,⁵ who turned out to be men of the most hardened and abandoned character. Under their directions, the Orangemen sacked and pillaged the houses of their opponents by night, under the pretence of searching for arms; posting up notices, which ordered them 'to go to hell or Connaught;' and threatening severe punishment in case of disobedience, which they took care to inflict. In their encounters, they generally had the victory, by reason of superior discipline; for many of them had been volunteers; so that in the end they succeeded in expelling several thousands of catholics from the county: during the latter part of 1795, and beginning of next year, the roads leading from the city of Armagh presented the most heart-rending scenes, in groups of miserable families endeavoring to escape from the iron rod of persecution, towards the south and western districts. Lord Gosford, governor of the county, convened the magistrates for the purpose of putting an end to what he designated 'a persecution accompanied by all the circumstances of ferocious cruelty that ever have distinguished such a calamity; in which neither age, nor sex, nor even acknowledged innocence as to any guilt, was sufficient to excite mercy or afford protection:' but his laudable efforts were not seconded by the magistrates, who had strongly imbibed the

⁵ This miscreant, of the name of Trimble, was tried and condemned for murder at Armagh; but his threat of letting out secrets implicating higher characters, saved him from execution: his sentence was commuted to transportation; but he was rescued from jail, and concealed on board the fleet.

spirit of faction; and they remained deaf to his lordship's insinuation, 'that impartial justice had disappeared from the county.'⁶

An association, composed on different principles, and calculated to be very extensively useful, had its commencement this year; when government began to embody an armed yeomanry to assist the regular troops and the militia. Great opposition was made by the disloyal part of the country to the establishment of this force; but it was carried into complete effect, and in the course of six months amounted to 37,000 men, still increasing, and proving themselves, by their activity, courage, and loyalty, in times of extreme peril, well worthy of the confidence reposed in them. During such preparations, however, the leaders of the united Irishmen were not inactive; but in the summer of 1795, they entered into negociation with the rulers of the French republic, respecting a separation of their country from the British government. In January 1796, their messenger returned with a favorable answer; and in the summer of the same year, the plan of an invasion was settled at an interview, which took place on the French frontier, between lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor, and general Hoche. These preparations, during the autumn, were the subject of familiar conversation, both in England and Ireland; but the British cabinet, either doubting or disregarding the intelligence, took no suitable measures of defence.

During the winter of 1794, the French government made great exertions to put their navy on a respectable footing; but all their efforts on the ocean led only to disaster; though nothing but the extraordinary bravery of our seamen, and the accidental employment of able officers, preserved the British from being the suffering party, instead of their adversaries. Early in March, the Toulon squadron, consisting of seventeen ships of the line, put to sea, with the design of expelling the English from the gulf of Genoa, and landing troops in Corsica. Not being aware of their intention, admiral Hotham, who had taken the command of the Mediterranean fleet, was at Leghorn; and the enemy succeeded in capturing the *Berwick*, of seventy-four guns, which found itself suddenly surrounded by the enemy.

⁶ These atrocious associations must not be confounded with the Orange societies afterwards formed by persons of more respectable character and connexions; although we have lately seen the danger arising from such party confederacies, from the extraordinary exposure of Orange practices, by a parliamentary committee in the session of 1835.

On the seventh of March, however, the British admiral set sail with thirteen ships of the line, half-manned, and one Neapolitan seventy-four; but he had with him the gallant Nelson, and that more than compensated for all deficiencies. A partial engagement ensued, in which the *Ça Ira* and the *Censeur* fell into the hands of the British, principally through the admirable conduct of Nelson in the *Agamemnon*; and then was seen, strikingly displayed, the difference between an officer of the old school, who had been long laid by on the peace establishment, and one of that new and energetic class, which was about to render the British navy a counterpoise to the enormous military power of France. As soon as the two vessels had struck, Nelson proposed to admiral Hotham that they should be left with the *Illustrious* and *Courageux*, which had been crippled in the action; and that the rest of the fleet should pursue the enemy, and follow up the advantage already gained: but his reply was, 'We must be contented: we have done very well.'—'Now,' said Nelson, 'had we captured ten sail, and allowed the eleventh to escape, I could never have called it well done.' The action that had taken place saved Corsica for the time; but the victory had been so incomplete, that the arrival at Toulon of six sail of the line from Brest, gave the French a superiority, which, if they had known how to use it, might have enabled them to become masters in the Mediterranean. 'The British navy,' says Mr. Southey, 'had been much neglected during lord Chatham's administration' at the admiralty; and it did not, for some time, feel the beneficial effect of his removal: lord Hood had gone home to represent the real state of affairs, and solicit reinforcements adequate to the exigences of the times, and the importance of the scene of action: but that fatal error of under proportioning the force to the service; that ruinous economy, which, by sparing a little, renders all that is spent useless, infected the British councils; and lord Hood, not being able to obtain such reinforcements as he knew were necessary, resigned the command.' At this moment we were lavishing on Austria a sum more than equal to support the British navy, during a whole year, in its most palmy state; while our admiralty would not send ships to support those same allies in gaining possession

⁷ Life of Nelson. Yet this was the man, who, because he was Mr. Pitt's brother, and a favorite at court, was afterwards selected to command the largest and most important expedition that ever left the shores of Great Britain: the result is well known.

of the sea coasts of the king of Sardinia; 'where,' said Nelson, 'the admiral did not feel himself equal to show himself, much less to give assistance in operations.'⁸ It was not thus that the great earl of Chatham would have made war on the republicans: it was not thus that he wielded that powerful arm of British greatness, the navy, when he declared to lord Anson, that if he did not prepare a fleet by a given time, he would impeach him. Meanwhile the courts of Vienna and Turin were making vigorous efforts for prosecuting the war on the Piedmontese frontier, their joint effective force being raised to 50,000 men; while the French were in a state of miserable destitution from desertion and sickness during the severity of the winter in those mountainous districts. After various actions, they were obliged to evacuate all their positions in the maritime Alps, and the allied armies threatened the country of Nice and the territory of the republic. If the latter had pushed their advantages with vigor, the French right wing might have been destroyed; for it was only by pledging their private credit, that Kellerman, Berthier, and the other generals could obtain provisions for their dispirited troops; whose situation was rendered still more desperate by an unsuccessful action between the French and British fleets near Frejus, when the *Alcide*, of seventy-four guns, blew up;⁹ and the rest of the enemy's vessels, severely shattered, were obliged to retire into the harbor of Toulon. Nelson at this time had eight frigates placed under his command, and was making incredible exertions to cut off all trade between Genoa and the places occupied by French troops, at great risk to himself; for a naval captain was liable to prosecution for detention of vessels and damage to the cargoes; and the frauds of neutrals required an eagle's eye to detect them: yet he persevered notwithstanding all hazards; 'political courage being,' in the opinion of that great man, 'as necessary as military valor for an officer on a foreign station.' Fortunately for the republicans, divisions be-

⁸ Southey's *Life of Nelson*. When at length admiral Man arrived with only five ships of the line, Nelson's exclamation was, 'All men are alike; and we in this country do not find any amendment in the old board of admiralty: they should know that half the ships in the fleet require to go to England; and that long ago they ought to have reinforced us.'

⁹ The loss of this ship was owing to a kind of quick fire, with which the French fleet were provided, to burn the British ships; an invention far more perilous to themselves than to their enemies. This is said to have destroyed *L'Orient* at the battle of Aboukir.

tween the allied generals paralysed their movements, and nothing effectual was undertaken, before 7000 men were despatched from the army of the eastern Pyrenees, and 10,000 from that of the Rhine, to reinforce the Alpine legions, while no reinforcements were sent to their adversaries; and their motions were so tardy, that Nelson began to suspect that the Austrian court, as well as its general, Devins, had other ends in view than the cause of the allies.¹⁰ In the mean time, the neutrals assisted France far more than the allies assisted each other; and privateers carried abundant supplies of provision from Genoa to the French armies: at length, the republicans, under the direction of Massena, made a grand attack on the confederates; whose officers were so little aware of their intention, that the sound of the French cannon roused them from a ball about sun-rise on the twenty-third of November. By bringing up an overpowering force against the Austrian centre, Massena forced their position, and, breaking through the interior of their line, took all their positions in rear; so that their left wing was liable to be overwhelmed by the combined attack of the French centre and right. Next day, when the combat was resumed, the Austrian general took the most precipitate steps to draw back his right wing; but was assailed with such vigor by Augereau's battalions, that the retreat became a rout; and in the midst of carnage and horror, unparalleled as yet in the war, forty-eight pieces of cannon and 100 caissons were abandoned by one column, while the other escaped with great difficulty, leaving all its artillery to the enemy: 5000 prisoners, eighty pieces of cannon, and immense stores of ammunition, taken by the republicans, signalised the great victory of Loano, which terminated the campaign of the Alps in 1795; and by giving winter quarters to the French on the Italian side of those mountains, afforded them every facility for achieving their grand object of separating the Austrian from the Sardinian forces.

During the whole winter of 1794, the unconquerable Charette had, with a few thousand royalists, maintained the contest in La Vendée; and all the princes of Europe looked up to

¹⁰ 'This army,' said he, 'is slow beyond all description; and I begin to think that the emperor is anxious to touch another four millions of English money: as for the German generals, war is their trade, and peace is ruin to them; we therefore cannot expect that they should have any wish to finish the war. The politics of courts are so mean, that private people would be ashamed to act in the same way.' Southey's Life.

him, as the only man capable of restoring the royal cause: but after the fall of Robespierre, when greater moderation prevailed in the French government, a treaty of pacification was concluded; though, as soon as the first tumults of joy had subsided, it became evident that this was only a truce, and that the seeds of inextinguishable discord still subsisted between the opposite parties. Republican pride had reason to be mortified by this treaty: conquerors of all their other enemies, they were yet seemingly humbled by the peasants of La Vendée, who had extorted terms, for which the kings of Europe had in vain contended. 'It is painful,' says an eminent historian, 'to think that the renewal of hostilities in this district, and its tragic termination, was owing to the delusive hopes held out by Great Britain, and its ill-judged assistance.'¹¹

Induced by flattering accounts of the emigrants, the British ministry embarked 6000 of those exiles in the pay of England, and a regiment of artillery from Toulon, with eighty pieces of cannon, as well as arms and accoutrements for 80,000 men: these were separated into two divisions; and a third, of British troops, was destined to support the whole, when they had made good their landing on the French coast: the chief command of the expedition was given to the count d'Artois; and great hopes were entertained of its success from the co-operation of the Chouans and Vendéans, who had engaged, on the first appearance of a prince of the blood, to place 80,000 men at his disposal. All obstacles in the way of transporting these troops to France were removed by a brilliant action between the channel fleet under lord Bridport, and the French squadron from Brest; in which the latter lost three ships of the line, while the rest were obliged to run for shelter into the harbor of L'Orient. Under these circumstances, the expedition set sail, and on the twenty-seventh of June appeared in Quiberon-bay, where the troops immediately landed, and made themselves masters of Fort Penthièvre: the intelligence of their disembarkation excited a vast sensation through all France; showing what might have been the result, if a powerful army, capable of arresting the republicans in the field, had been thrown into the western provinces, when its numerous bands were effectively organised.

General Hoche immediately took the most vigorous measures to face the danger; and having so disposed a part of his forces as to overawe Britany, he proceeded with 7000 men to the

¹¹ Alison, vol. ii. p. 497.

peninsula of Quiberon, and drove back the royalists in confusion to the intrenched camp which they had formed near Fort Penthièvre: this disaster led to an open rupture between the emigrants and the Chouans; who, being mutually exasperated, accused each other as the cause of the disaster; while many thousands of the latter disbanded, and sought to escape from the peninsula. Affairs were also badly managed by the royalist committee in Paris: many of the French prisoners, who had volunteered in the expedition, deserted the royal standard; and, to secure a favorable reception, gave such information as was calculated to promote the republican cause. Hoche, profiting by these circumstances, surprised Fort Penthièvre in the night; and stormed the camp, though not without a gallant resistance: all, however, was lost: a violent gale prevented the British fleet from approaching the coast; hundreds perished in the waves, and thousands by the swords of their more cruel countrymen. Tallien, the commissioner sent by the convention, made an atrocious use of this victory, by putting to death in cold blood 800 emigrant prisoners, in defiance of a verbal capitulation, accepted by general Humbert and the officers engaged in the combat: the horrid scene took place in a meadow near Auray, which is still held in high veneration by the people, under the denomination of the 'field of the martyrs.'

The broken remains of this expedition were landed in the isle of Houat; where they were soon afterwards joined by 2500 men from England, which gained possession of the Isle Dieu, when the count d'Artois took the command: the insurgents of La Vendée, under Charette, marched in three columns to the Sables d'Olonne to join them; but so rapid and decisive were the measures of Hoche, that they were soon compelled to seek safety by dispersion. Some partial insurrections at the same time broke out in Britany; but, from want of concert among the royalist chiefs, they came to nothing; and the English expedition, abandoning Isle Dieu, returned with the count d'Artois to England: from this time, the affairs of the royalists in all the western provinces rapidly declined; and the efforts of the Chouans and Vendéans were confined to a species of guerilla warfare, which was completely extinguished in the following year, by the numerous troops and able dispositions of general Hoche. 'It is painful,' says Mr. Alison, 'to think how different might have been the result of the campaign, had Great Britain really put forth her strength in the contest; and, instead of landing a few thousand men on a coast bristling

with bayonets, had sent 30,000 troops to make head against the republicans, till the royalist forces were so organised, as to be able to take the field with regular troops.'

Moreau, at this time, commanded the army of the north, encamped in Holland; Jourdan, that of the Sambre and Meuse, stationed near Cologne; and Pichegru that of the Rhine, cantoned from Mayence to Strasburg: but all these forces, from the great depreciation of paper money, were in a state of utter destitution, supplying, by forced contributions on the vanquished, the deficiency of their nominal pay. Discipline too was relaxed with the sufferings of the soldiers: their high military spirit was impaired; and multitudes of deserters resorted to Paris, where the convention were happy to form them into battalions, against the fury of the jacobins. The Austrians, on the other hand, had brought forward large reinforcements, well disciplined and equipped: including the contingents of Suabia and Bavaria, their forces on the Rhine amounted to 150,000 men; while their adversaries could not number above 144,500 in the field; and their cavalry was almost wholly dismounted.

The Rhine now separated the contending armies, from the Alps to the sea; the imperialists, however, had an advantage arising from the possession of Mayence, which gave them the means of making an irruption with security on the left bank: yet such was their consternation, produced by their late reverses, that they remained inactive on the right bank of the river till the end of June; when marshal Bender, having exhausted all his means of subsistence, and seeing no hope of relief, was compelled to surrender the important fortress of Luxemburg to the republicans, with 10,000 men, and an immense train of artillery: in the mean time, the prince of Condé, on the Upper Rhine, was engaged in a correspondence with the malcontents of Alsace, and from them he learned that Pichegru was not altogether inaccessible to negociation: in fact, this illustrious officer was, on many accounts, discontented with his own situation and that of the country: like Dumouriez and La Fayette, he had been horror-struck with the atrocities of the convention, and saw no hope of amendment in the weak government that succeeded it; while the state of destitution, to which, in common with all the army, he was reduced by the fall in assignats, rendered him discontented with those who thus rewarded patriotic services. The character of Pichegru was humane; he had set a noble example of discipline, and of honorable conduct towards his adver-

saries, during his late campaign in Holland: he had thus acquired great influence with the soldiers; and it is not less natural to suppose, that, after having secured the independence of his country by conquest, he might think it right to establish its internal prosperity by the restoration of a constitutional throne, than that he was tempted to betray the republican cause by large rewards, promised to him in case he should effect such a restoration. No decisive evidence has been yet produced on this question; but it is certain, that after six months spent in mysterious communications, Pichegru broke off the negotiation, and prepared to obey the orders of the convention.

Wurmser, who commanded the Austrian forces on the Upper Rhine, remained till the beginning of September without making any important movement: Mayence could not be reduced without a regular siege; and a squadron of gun-boats on the Rhine gave to the allies the command of that river: on the sixth of September, however, Jourdan, having obtained the necessary means, effected a passage over it; compelled the garrison of Dusseldorf to capitulate; and, having repulsed the Austrian forces, advanced to the Lahn: meanwhile, Pichegru, crossing the Upper Rhine at Mannheim, took possession of that important city; from whence he might either combine with Jourdan for a general attack on the allied forces, or proceed to the reduction of Mayence. Clairfait, unable after the loss of Mannheim to defend the line of the Lahn, abandoned his position on that river, and fell back behind the Mein; while Jourdan, leaving a division of his forces before Ehrenbreitstein, descended into the valley of the Mein, and invested Mayence on the right bank of the Rhine, while Pichegru was debouching from Mannheim.

At this period the balance of fortune suddenly turned in favor of the Austrians. Clairfait, reinforced by 15,000 Hungarians, resumed the offensive, and succeeded, by a skilful march, in turning the French left, and forcing them back into a situation, where they had the enemy in front, and the Rhine in their rear; they had, therefore, no resource left but a retreat across that river; which was conducted with such confusion, that when they arrived at the right bank, scarcely fifty men of any corps were to be found together. Suddenly abandoning his pursuit of the enemy, this intrepid general turned towards Mayence, and took by storm the magnificent lines of circumvallation which had cost the French a year's labor to construct. Being assailed in all directions, the republicans made for some time an obstinate defence in the second line; but at

length, being turned by other forces, which had crossed the river below Mayence, they fled in all directions, with a loss of 3000 men, as well as all their artillery and stores, collected for this important siege.

At the same time, by the loss of an island which they had fortified, a league below Coblenz, the French troops were obliged to evacuate the *tête du pont* of Nieuwied, and were driven to the left bank of the river: meanwhile, Wurmser carried the *tête du pont* erected by Pichegru on the Neckar, and compelled that general to retire in confusion behind the Pfrim; from which position he was dislodged by Clairfait, driven behind the Elsbach, and forced to leave Mannheim to its own resources.

In this perplexing state of affairs, Jourdan, having partly reorganised his army, advanced during dreadful weather to the relief of so important a post; but all in vain: the central position of Clairfait and Wurmser covered the siege, and prevented the junction of the republican armies; so that, after several unsuccessful efforts, the French general was obliged to fall back; and Mannheim, with a garrison of 9000 men, capitulated to Wurmser. That commander, being thus relieved from all apprehension as to his communications, brought his whole force to the left bank of the Rhine, and drove Pichegru back to the lines of Quiech and the neighborhood of Landau; while Clairfait pressed Jourdan so severely, that he obliged him to throw up an intrenched camp at Traerbach, with a view to secure his passage over the Moselle. In these disastrous circumstances, he received with joy a proposition from the Austrians, who, as well as their antagonists, were exhausted with the fatigues of the campaign, for a suspension of arms during the winter. Thus the career of French conquest was checked, and the spirit of its adversaries restored; while the republic had arrived at that period of lassitude in war, and financial embarrassment, to which our ministers looked for a successful termination of the contest: but all such speculations were destined to be overthrown by the appearance on the stage of a military hero, who was about to give a resistless impulse to French ambition, and for a considerable period, as an eminent writer¹² has observed, 'to chain the history of Europe to his own biography.'

When the reign of terror was overthrown by that general reaction which its enormities produced, there still remained two

¹² Sir Walter Scott.

parties in Paris to contend for the superiority; that of the committees,¹³ which endeavored to retain the remnant of their power; and that of the liberators, or Thermidorians,¹⁴ with Tallien at their head, supported by a large band of young men, who had lost parents or friends in the revolution, and went by the title of *la jeunesse dorée*. The influence of the committees, paralysed as they were by the fall of the municipality of Paris, consisted chiefly in the possession of the machinery of government and in the vigor of their leaders,¹⁵ who saw no prospect of safety to themselves but in the maintenance of the republican government: the Thermidorians, composed of the whole centre of the assembly, with the remnant of the royalists and Dantonists, gradually extended their authority by the accession of moderate men, and by the liberation of numerous members of the assembly incarcerated in the public prisons: but for a considerable time they were obliged to proceed with great caution against their antagonists; for the jacobins were still powerful from their numbers and combinations: four days after the death of Robespierre, the sittings of their horrible club were resumed; and as they possessed a strong hold on the feelings of the populace, they at length assumed so menacing an attitude, that the Thermidorians found it necessary to rouse themselves, and to call in the assistance of the *jeunesse dorée*. These courageous young men, after several encounters, attacked the club at one of its sittings, and succeeded in dispersing the members with ignominy: the commissioners of the convention then put a seal on its papers; by which the existence of the club, and with it the union of the democratic party, was destroyed. The trial of the infamous Carriere, and some other revolutionary monsters, revealed such atrocious scenes, that the populace became shocked at the villainy of its own creatures; and the convention was soon able to effect more humane designs, and to abridge the power of the revolutionary tribunals: after this, it proceeded to a gradual abolition of other unconstitutional measures; and at length, strengthened by the increasing force of public opinion, it ventured on the impeachment of Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barrere, and Vadier. These remaining leaders of

¹³ Of public safety, &c.

¹⁴ So called from the day in the republican calendar, on which they achieved their triumph.

¹⁵ Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barrere, Vadier, Amar, Carnot, &c.

the jacobins, being thus threatened, exerted their utmost efforts to rouse the populace; which design was aided by the intense sufferings experienced from the want of bread, and the extreme depreciation of assignats, which threatened almost every individual with immediate ruin: under these circumstances, on the first of April, a revolt was organised in the fauxbourgs to prevent the trials, which were to commence on the third: the cry of the insurgents was, 'bread; the constitution of 1793; and the freedom of the patriots.' A crowd rushed furiously into the assembly; every thing announced the approach of a crisis; and the jacobins were recovering their former audacity; when a large body of the *troupe dorée* entered the hall under the command of Pichegru, chanting in loud strains the *Reveil du Peuple*. The insurgents knew their masters; and that formidable body, before whom the strength of the monarchy had so often trembled, yielded to a few thousands of undisciplined, but courageous young men.¹⁶

The Thermidorians wisely used moderation in their victory; and the accused leaders were condemned, not to death, but to banishment: for the jacobins, though broken, were not subdued; they still had the power of rallying the forces of the fauxbourgs, which had kept their arms, and were rendered desperate by needy circumstances and the pressure of the times. On the twentieth of May, the hall of the convention was surrounded by about 30,000 of these sans-culottes, armed with pikes, who had risen 'to obtain bread and resume their rights.' The assembly, acting with vigor and promptitude, declared their sittings permanent, voted all assemblages of the people seditious, and summoned the national guard by the sound of the tocsin to their relief: the furious multitude, however, broke into the hall, obtained the mastery over the legislature, and proceeded without delay to form a new government, to restore the jacobin club, as well as the democratic constitution, and to recall the exiled members. Every thing seemed to denote another revolution at hand, when the firmness of the committees saved France: with a few companies of the national guard, and a troop of the *jeunesse dorée*, they made a sally on the insurgents, routed them with disgrace, resumed at midnight their places in the assembly, and arrested twenty-eight members who had supported these violent proceedings. But the fauxbourgs, though defeated, were not yet subdued: next day they advanced in still greater force against the convention; cannon

¹⁶ Alison, vol. ii. p. 542.

were pointed on both sides ; when the chiefs of the insurgents, having no leaders of ability, and being intimidated by a resistance which they did not expect, yielded to negotiation, and retired with the assurance that the supply of provisions for the capital should be attended to, and the laws of 1793 enforced.

Instructed by experience, the convention now took more decisive measures : six of the most obnoxious members of the Mountain were delivered over to a military commission ; and the fauxbourgs were surrounded by 30,000 of the national guards, supported by 10,000 troops of the line ; all the avenues leading to these dens of assassins being planted with cannon and mortars. The determination to bombard their quarters, being made known, produced an unconditional surrender : the revolutionary committees were suppressed ; the constitution of 1793 was abolished ; and the national guard reorganised : to crown all, the fauxbourgs were disarmed ; their formidable pikes, so long the terror of Paris, were given up ; and the reign of the mob terminated, six years after its commencement at the storming of the Bastile.

A strong reaction now began to show itself against democratic principles ; but it was accompanied in many parts of France with a terrible retaliation against the revolutionary party by the exasperated relations and friends of those who had suffered under its tyrannical decrees : in Paris, however, where the influence of the Girondists prevailed, this ebullition of fury was suppressed, and the convention proceeded to the formation of a new constitution, differing widely from the democratic institutions of 1793. The fundamental error of uniting the whole legislative power in one assembly, was now corrected, two councils being appointed ; that of the five hundred, with which all laws were to originate ; and that of the ancients,¹⁷ which had authority to pass or reject them : nor could any bill be carried before it had been three times read, with an interval of at least five days between each reading. The executive power, taken from the two committees, was lodged in the hands of five directors nominated by the council of five hundred, and approved by that of the ancients ; each individual to be president by rotation for three months ; and one retiring every year, to be replaced by a new election. To this directory was committed the army and finances, the appointment of public functionaries, and the management of negotiations : above all, it

¹⁷ No one could be a member of this council under forty years of age.

must be remarked, that the privilege of electing members of the legislature was taken away from the great mass of the people, and confined to the colleges of delegates: all popular societies were prohibited; but the press was declared absolutely free.

The formation, however, of this constitution did not pass without exciting violent agitation: this was increased by a decree of the convention, determining that two-thirds of its present members should form a part of the new legislature, the electors filling up only the remaining third: the forty-eight sections of Paris were instantly assembled, and their leaders united with the royalist committees: the national guard shared in the general excitation; the most vehement harangues were uttered against the convention, which was compared to the English long parliament; the press teemed with publications against its ambitious views, and resistance was openly proclaimed. Surrounded by so many dangers, the convention, as a last resource, determined to throw itself on the protection of the army: the new constitution, being submitted to the consideration of the soldiers, was by them unanimously adopted; a body of 5000 regular troops was assembled in the vicinity of the capital, and their adhesion announced to the citizens; besides, it soon appeared that the constitution had been accepted by a large majority of the departments; yet the sections of Paris, accustomed to take the lead in public measures, were not discouraged, but unanimously resolved on resistance. The national guard, however, though it amounted to 30,000 men, was destitute of artillery,¹⁸ while the government had 200 pieces at their command; but the former hoped by a rapid advance to gain possession of this formidable train.

The leaders of the convention, in the mean time, were not idle: a decree passed for the dissolution of the electoral bodies in Paris, which was openly resisted; and the national guard assembled to protect the electors at the Théâtre Français. The government gave the command of its armed force to general Menou, who, instead of attacking the insurgents, entered into a negociation with them; which gave all the advantage of victory to the sections, who planned an attack on the convention next day at its place of assembly.

The members, alarmed at this intelligence, and suspecting Menou of treachery, dismissed him from the command about

¹⁸ The sections had delivered up their cannon, at the disarming of the fauxbourgs.

eleven o'clock at night, and conferred it on Barras with unlimited powers: the utmost anxiety, however, still existed to procure an officer of nerve and decision to act as second in command, and take the actual direction of the military force: and then it was that a few words from Barras, addressed to his colleagues Tallien and Carnot, decided the fate of many European thrones. 'I have the man,' said he, 'whom you want; a little Corsican officer, who will not stand on ceremony.' Barras had been present at the siege of Toulon, and had not forgotten the inventive genius and decisive character of the young officer to whom the conquest of that city was to be ascribed. Napoleon Buonaparte was now sent for: he had witnessed the retreat of Menou; and he explained in a simple manner the causes of that check, and the modes of resistance which ought to be adopted in case of the apprehended attack: his explanations were satisfactory; and the conventional forces were placed at his disposal, to defend that palace, which he had seen, with indignation, attacked and carried by a mob on the fatal tenth of August. His signal triumph over the sections and 30,000 of the national guard, on the thirteenth Vendémiaire, fully established the authority of the convention, which rewarded its preserver by fixing him permanently as second in command of the army of the interior, under Barras: after this, it dissolved itself, to appear on the scene in a new character, forming two-thirds of the legislative council of the ancients, and that of five hundred. The directors first appointed were Barras, Sieyes, Reubell, Letourneur de la Manche, and Lareveillere Lepaux; but Sieyes, whose taste for politics lay rather in theory than in practice, declined the office, and was replaced by Carnot. A general amnesty was now proclaimed; and the name of the Place de la Révolution was changed into that of Place de la Concorde.

As Barras found his directorial duties incompatible with those of military command, Napoleon Buonaparte soon became general-in-chief of the army of the interior; when he employed his genius in improving the state of the military forces; and, to prevent the recurrence of insurrections, he organised a guard to protect the representative body. In the mean time, accident introduced him to Madame Beauharnois, whose graceful person and engaging manners captivated him, as they had before captivated the director Barras: the latter was not unwilling to dissolve the temporary union which he had formed with the lady; and Buonaparte, by his marriage, secured the powerful patronage of her former protector: the dowry of Josephine was

the chief command of the Italian armies ; by which a way was opened for his advance, through a splendid career of victory, to the imperial throne of France.

In reviewing the domestic occurrences of Great Britain during this year, we are led particularly to notice the increasing spirit of disaffection which had seized the minds of the populace, more especially in and around the metropolis, where the levelling societies advanced in numbers and audacity ; while the general discontent was heightened by a remarkable scarcity of grain, which drew up with it the prices of all other articles of subsistence : the war also was becoming unpopular ; for to this were ascribed, not only its own peculiar evils, but those which proceeded from natural causes and the deficiency of seasons : besides, the greatest efforts were made to persuade people that the contest had no definite object, and therefore was not likely to be brought to a speedy conclusion ; while the success of the French on the continent, and the defection of our allies, seemed to promise that Great Britain would soon have to bear the whole burden of the contest. It is not very difficult to persuade an unthinking multitude, who act more from feeling than reason, that war, whatever may be its object, is an evil to be avoided ; for they cannot easily enter into those sentiments and principles, which lead statesmen rather to forego the enjoyment of a present good, and to bear the pressure of a temporary evil, than expose a country to the danger of permanent and irremediable calamities. In the present instance, so many causes combined to render this task more easy than usual, that peace and reform became the watchwords of faction, as well as the aspirations of sensible and honorable men, who looked forward to such a consummation of their zealous exertions.

A petition to the legislature for peace had been carried in the common hall of the city of London by a large majority, and was followed by similar measures from several other cities and towns ; the press teemed with publications adverse to the war ; and the reforming clubs began to act with increasing boldness : in particular, the Corresponding Society held several public meetings ; one of which, in the fields near Copenhagen-house, was characterised by a daring spirit, in its seditious harangues addressed to an assembly of 50,000 persons.

Such was the agitated state of the public mind ; which, as well as the foreign relations of the country, determined ministers to call parliament together at so early a period as the twenty-ninth of October. On that day, as it was known the

king intended to open the session in person, an immense concourse, chiefly of disaffected persons, met to express their sentiments of discontent ; and when his majesty's carriage appeared in the Park, it was surrounded by the crowd, clamorously demanding peace and bread, and the dismissal of Mr. Pitt. Some voices assumed a menacing tone, exclaiming, ' No king ! ' ' Down with George ! ' stones also were thrown at the state coach ; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the soldiers could clear a passage through the tumultuous mob. At length, as the royal carriage drew near to the ordnance office, a bullet, supposed to have been discharged from an air-gun, perforated the window, but happily without doing any other injury. His majesty behaved on the occasion with all his natural coolness and intrepidity : when he entered the house of peers, he merely said to the lord chancellor, ' My lord, we have been shot at ; ' and then proceeded to deliver his speech from the throne, without betraying the slightest agitation. After he had seated himself in the coach, on his return, he observed to his attendants,—' Well, my lords, one person is proposing this, and another is supposing that ; forgetting that there is One above us all, who disposes of every thing, and on whom we all depend.' Happily, that Being still extended his protection over the pious sovereign, and saved this country from the indelible stain of the basest regicide that could have been perpetrated : he was, however, again exposed to the most insulting abuse ; and on his way from the palace to Buckingham-house, in his private chariot, he would probably have been sacrificed by the infuriated crowd, but for the prompt interference of a gentleman in the navy pay office, named Bedingfield ; who, seeing the carriage stopped, and hearing the exclamation of ' Pull him out ! ' rushed forward, and, drawing a pistol from his pocket, intimidated the mob, until time was given for his majesty's rescue. Among the persons apprehended on account of this infamous outrage, was a journeyman printer, of the name of Kidd Wake ; who, being brought to trial, was convicted, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment in Gloucester jail. His majesty, however, received more consolation from the numerous assurances of loyalty to his sacred person, contained in the numerous addresses which were presented to him from all parts of his kingdom :¹⁹ confident,

¹⁹ His majesty did not forget Mr. Bedingfield, the fortunate instrument of his preservation ; but earnestly recommended him for some appointment to Mr. Dundas. On the gentleman (who

indeed, in the attachment of his people and the protection of Providence, the king went, together with her majesty and three of the princesses, the very next evening, to Covent-garden theatre, where the royal visitors were welcomed with the most rapturous applause by their subjects.

The outrages offered to the sovereign became instantly a subject of consideration to parliament, and suitable addresses were voted; after which, a bill was introduced into the upper house by lord Grenville, 'for the safety and preservation of his majesty's person and government against treasonable and seditious attempts;' and on the same day, Mr. Pitt, in the commons, moved for a bill 'to prevent seditious meetings.' These two bills had for their object the restriction of the right, hitherto possessed by the people, of assembling to petition the crown and legislature, or to discuss political subjects: they were warmly opposed in each stage of their progress through both houses; the minister was vehemently accused of a premeditated attack on the liberties of the people; and was tauntingly asked, how he could connect the act of a few sanguinary ruffians, who probably were government spies, with the meeting at Copenhagen-house, or the proceedings of the Corresponding Society? Mr. Pitt, however, in this instance assumed the courage of Napoleon; and wielded the laws of his country against English jacobins with as much decision and effect as the other turned his cannon against the rebellious sections of Paris: nor did he want defenders of his conduct. Mr. Canning observed, 'that there was an intimate connexion between the proceedings at Copenhagen-house and the disgraceful outrage that followed: he was astonished that any man, possessed of the common powers of reason, should doubt it. An attempt had been made on the king's life; and a doctrine preached, recommending the practice of king-killing: the doctrine was preached, and the attempt was made. The design of the speakers was not disguised: they openly declaimed against majesty, and against

was an Irishman) being asked by the secretary, what he could do for him; it is said, that Mr. Bedingfield, with the characteristic humor of his countrymen, answered,—'The best thing, sir, you can do for me, is to make me a Scotchman:' which allusion so offended Mr. Dundas, that he dismissed him as he came; and when the king repeatedly asked what had been done for the brave Irishman, he always received for answer, that no office was vacant: at last, he observed rather sharply to Mr. Dundas, 'Then, sir, you must make an office for him:' which was done, and a salary of £650 per annum annexed to it.

government: if then the attack immediately followed the promulgation of such abominable doctrines, he did not see how the connexion could be discredited: there was, indeed, a plea used, that they were assembled for the purpose of petitioning parliament; but this, it was easy to conceive, was only a pretext to mislead.' Mr. Grey, protesting against the measure, observed, 'that according to his own feelings it was unnecessary, because the existing laws appeared sufficient to repress the evil: if ministers had neglected to prosecute those who had made a base attack on the life of their sovereign, was that a reason why the liberties of all Englishmen should be taken from them?' Parliament, however, agreed with Mr. Pitt in thinking that extraordinary times required extraordinary precautions; so that the bills passed with large majorities, although their duration was limited to three years.

The period was now approaching when England would have to contend against a coalition on the side of France. Early in the year, a proclamation was issued by the British government, ordering the seizure of all Dutch vessels found in our ports; in consequence of which, five ships of war were secured in Plymouth sound, nine East Indiamen, and about sixty other vessels: on the ninth of February, another was published, authorising the capture of all ships and property belonging to that people; after a short interval, letters of marque and reprisal were granted; so that war against the Batavian republic was virtually declared; and before the end of summer the Cape of Good Hope surrendered to our arms. This had been effected by vice-admiral Sir G. Keith Elphinstone and general Sir Alured Clarke; with whom, after some fighting, terms of capitulation were adjusted, by which it was agreed that the garrison should be considered prisoners of war, and the property of the Dutch East India company delivered up to the captors; but that private possessions and civil rights should be left inviolate. Not many months afterwards, Trincomalé, Columbo, and other Dutch possessions in Ceylon; Malacca on the peninsula of that name; Chinsura in the bay of Bengal; and Cochin on the Malabar coast; also Demerara and Essequibo in the West Indies, were taken by the British forces: so that Holland seemed destined by her colonial possessions to make compensation to England for the expenses of the war. Our colonial acquisitions, however, obtained from France, were in considerable jeopardy. Early in the year, the French made great efforts to recover their possessions in the West Indies: having taken St. Eustatius, and put it into a state of

defence, they planned a general revolt against the British government in all the French islands: emissaries were sent among the negroes, and correspondences set on foot with the discontented French, in order to raise a simultaneous insurrection. In St. Lucie, the English garrison was overpowered; and that part of it which retreated to the fort, after a blockade of three months, quitted the island. The attempts at Grenada, Dominica, and St. Vincents, though attended with temporary success, were finally defeated; but in the latter island the revolted Caribbs maintained their ground within their own limits. In Jamaica, a bloody war long subsisted with the Maroons, or descendants of negroes who revolted during the Spanish times; and that race became now almost extinguished.

Parliament was not unmindful of the critical state of the country, which arose from the scarcity of corn: information laid before the house, showed that the principal failure of last harvest was in the crop of wheat: accordingly, a bounty of twenty shillings per quarter was ordered to be paid on the importation of wheat from the Mediterranean; fifteen shillings on that from America; and five shillings on Indian corn: bills were also passed for prohibiting the manufacture of starch from wheat, or the distillation of spirits from grain; and others for encouraging the culture of waste grounds: a considerable number of enclosure bills were also carried.

On the fourth of November lord Arden moved that 110,000 seamen, including 18,000 marines, should be voted for the year 1796; and Mr. Windham proposed that 207,000 men should be employed in the land service: a loan of twenty millions and a half, including a vote of credit, was declared requisite; but even this enormous sum was not sufficient; as a farther loan of seven millions and a half was raised during the year, making the additional amount of national debt, within the last three years, nearly eighty millions. The censurers of the war, viewing this immense burden, asked its advocates what benefits could accrue, which would balance the loss; and to what end we were carrying on the contest at such an unparalleled cost? To this it was replied, that the war had been undertaken for the most important objects; that the greatest and most vigorous preparations were necessary, not only for defending Great Britain, but for inclining the enemy to peace: it was stated also that our commercial prospects were most flattering; and the average of exports, during the last three years of peace, was much less than they had been during the three of war; besides, the decreased value of money made a great dif-

ference in sums nominally the same; and, compared with the importance of the object, and the magnitude of our efforts, the amount was not excessive. But notwithstanding these representations, it happened, either from some difference in the views of those who advocated the war; or from an opinion that the great objects for which it had been undertaken, 'indemnification for the past and security for the future,' might be obtained from the present government of France; or, as many thought, from a desire of occupying the attention of his antagonists by a delusive negociation,—that Mr. Pitt himself began to talk of peace; and on the eighteenth of December brought to parliament a message from the king, announcing not only the formation of a regular government in France, but a readiness to meet any disposition for pacific negociations, and to give them full effect. After this declaration, the arguments for and against peace ceased to turn on the competence of the existing French government to conclude a treaty. Mr. Fox contended that there never existed an obstacle to negociation in any of the successive governments of France; for the question was one of justice and expediency belonging to the contending nations in their relations to each other, without any connexion with the internal government of either. Motions were afterwards made in both houses for addresses to the king, requesting him to open communications with the French government; but they were resisted by ministers, who contended that the conduct of a negociation rested solely with the members of the executive government: they alone could be proper agents in such a transaction, and they were bound to act unitedly with their allies: all had been done which honor and interest admitted to bring France to this issue; but neither honor nor interest ought to be sacrificed. During these discussions, the conduct of the war underwent severe animadversions: the miscarriages of the campaign were said to betray a total want of concert in our designs; our military measures were represented as merely a series of detached experiments, directed by no uniform plan, showing a total want of that wisdom and energy so necessary to a war minister. Nor was censure confined to external measures: the interior concerns of administration were strongly reprobated; especially the erection of barracks; the augmentation of fencible cavalry; and the appointment of noblemen and gentlemen, who had never been in the army, to the command of newly-raised regiments: ministers were accused of a design to increase the influence of the crown by lucrative appointments given to their friends; while by their barrack sys-

tem they separated the troops from the people, and destroyed that coincidence of sentiment, without which soldiers became mere tools of an executive power, instead of constitutional defenders of the community. These arguments were repeatedly urged by many, and especially by Mr. Grey, in a motion for the impeachment of the ministry: the latter defended themselves by showing that the staff officers were not more numerous than the service required; that the barrack system was not new or unconstitutional; while it presented facilities for collecting men, and prevented the expense and inconvenience of quartering soldiers on the public: with regard to the regimental appointments, it was stated that men of distinction had been preferred to commands, as more able than others to procure levies: besides, in a war, of which so important an object was the defence of rank and property, it was expedient to employ persons who had much at stake. The national resources and expenditure also became subjects of discussion; and while one party represented the situation of the country as verging on the very brink of destruction; the other described it as abounding in resources of every kind, able to surmount all obstacles, and destined to flourish with greater splendor than ever. Most of the burdens imposed on the country appeared to be laid on with judicious discrimination; the subjects of augmented taxation being wine, spirits, tea, coffee, silk, fruit, tobacco, salt, horses, dogs, hats, and legacies to collateral relatives; besides, all the assessed taxes were increased by ten per cent. Mr. Wilberforce, this session, renewed his motion for the abolition of the slave trade; which, though supported both by Pitt and Fox, was rejected. On the nineteenth of May parliament was prorogued, and a few days afterwards dissolved.

On the seventh of January this year, the birth of a princess to the heir-apparent, tended at first to dissipate, in some degree, that gloom which the stern alarms of war had spread over the nation: hearty congratulations were moved in both houses; and on the eleventh of February, she was baptised by the name of Charlotte Caroline Augusta: but the birth of this child, who afterwards became so interesting an object to the British people, instead of producing union between her parents, seemed to have a contrary effect: a coolness, which had long been suspected, now ripened into an open disagreement; and soon after the christening, a negociation was carried on for an amicable separation. The royal marriage had been most inauspiciously contracted; contrarieties in temper and habits were too strong to give any hope of domestic comfort; while

predilections, on both sides, for other objects,²⁰ served to increase mutual antipathy: the disunion was easily foreseen, which took place before the end of April. The king continued to interpose his good offices, and desired that the princess should at least reside under the same roof with her husband; accordingly, she had apartments in Carlton-house, while the prince spent his time chiefly at Brighton: a villa, however, near Blackheath was ultimately fixed on for her residence; and there, with her daughter and some attendant ladies, she lived for several years in retirement.

These events did not tend to allay that popular irritation, which, to a considerable extent, existed against the royal family. As their majesties were returning from Drury-lane theatre on the first of February, a stone was flung against their carriage in Pall Mall, which, breaking the window, struck the queen; and though a reward of £1000 was offered for the detection of the offender, he remained undiscovered: in the same month also, another maniacal attempt was fortunately prevented, in the case of a woman genteelly dressed, who had gained access into the queen's palace. Among the numerous libels against his majesty, which at this period issued from the licentious portion of the press, one by Daniel Eaton, a notorious jacobin, was not less remarkable for the just eulogium which it produced from lord Kenyon on the character of his sovereign, than for the person of the libeller, whose father had held an office at Windsor-castle, and who had sometimes had the honor of being a playmate of the king: this circumstance, with a weak monarch, might have had the effect of screening him from punishment; but George III. had seen the effect produced in France by the licentiousness of the press. The

²⁰ 'Never,' says Dr. Croly, 'was there a more speaking lesson to the dissipations of men of rank than the prince's involvements. While he was wearied with the attempt to extricate himself from lady Jersey's irritations, another claimant came: Mrs. Fitzherbert was again in the field. Whatever might be her rights, since the royal marriage, that of a wife could not be included in them; but her demands were not the less embarrassing. A large pension, a handsome outfit, and a costly mansion in Park-lane, at length reconciled her to life: and his royal highness had the delight of being hampered with three women at a time; two of them prodigal, and totally past the day of attraction, even if attraction could have been an excuse; and the third complaining of neglects, which brought on him and his two old women a storm of censure and ridicule.' *Life of George IV.* p. 261.

pamphlet of this malignant libeller under prosecution, had accused the king of defrauding his people of nine millions of money; and it recommended the guillotine as a sovereign remedy: in allusion to which charge, his lordship, in his address to the jury, took occasion to compare the benevolent and pious monarch with the prophetic judge of Israel: for *he* also might say,—‘Whose ox have I taken? whose ass have I taken? whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed?’ It is not often that the chief officer of the law, on the sacred tribunal of justice, has an opportunity thus to commend his sovereign, without risking the imputation of flattery: in the present instance, the sentiments came home so strongly to the feelings, that the conviction of the libeller was not doubted for a moment.

It is scarcely possible to fix on any period of his majesty’s life more pregnant with gloomy forebodings than that which now engrosses our attention: it was a time of rebellion, mutiny, and revolution; the vessel of the state was exposed to all the storms of domestic faction, as well as foreign war; and it was the energy and perseverance of the monarch which chiefly contributed to save it. One consequence, indeed, might have been expected from the disastrous state of public affairs: a partial change at least of ministers might have been regarded as a necessary result of unsuccessful counsels; but George III. had, on the maturest reflection, given his confidence to Mr. Pitt, and he saw no reason to revoke it. Though many allies had failed us, yet the heart of Britain was still sound; and Austria was now making such immense exertions, that success once more appeared within our grasp. Mr. Pitt, like his illustrious father, entertained the notion, that a political interference in the concerns of the European commonwealth was the duty of Great Britain; that ‘this nation being,’ to use his own expression, ‘chained to the continent by the bonds of a liberal and enlightened policy,’ would thus be more easily trained to that largeness of view, which constitutes national greatness. Entertaining such sentiments, he was ever prepared to act up to them, as far as he felt himself encouraged by the nation; and its sentiments were fairly put to the trial at the general election which took place in the summer of this year. With a very few exceptions, where the influence of private character or family connexions weighed against political considerations, the tide of success ran strongly in favor of the minister: it must, however, be acknowledged, that he was not indebted solely to the approval of his political plans, for that stanch

support which rendered his power so firm : ministerial arts began now to be extensively applied ; and self-interest, the strongest principle in our nature, was successfully enlisted in the service of administration : the number of creations and promotions in the peerage every year¹ were alluring baits on the ministerial hook ; while fortunes made by loans and contracts attached innumerable monied men to a system which promised them such immense advantages. As the war advanced, state patronage gradually expanded itself to such a degree, that a horror of jacobinism was no longer requisite to support the minister : that feeling became merged in a still stronger principle. On this state of things the borough-mongering system being engrafted, and acting both as cause and effect, carried influence to so high a pitch, that disapprobation of a minister began to be represented as opposition to all good government ; and a system of terrorism started up in England, which suspended a moral guillotine over the character of those who doubted his infallibility. This flourished while the war lasted, and as long as danger from foreign foes hung over the country : but when peace came, and the same plan was carried on, though its pressure became more severe, and increasing intelligence opened the eyes of all classes to its abuses, the people demanded redress ; and that very funding system, which had been the principal cause of their grievances, enabled them to obtain the remedy which they sought : for a government, which has to support a debt like ours, is obliged to buy tranquillity at any price : the nation then threw off the oligarchical yoke ; and being desirous of rendering the popular branch of the legislature less dependent on ministerial influence, instituted that plan of reform, the efficacy of which is still under trial.

Supported, however, by the old machinery, and encouraged by royal favor, Mr. Pitt prepared for a vigorous prosecution of the war : he felt confident in the resources of England, and he relied on the efforts which self-interest would produce in the continental powers : at the same time, he expected that the struggle would be brief, and that a national bankruptcy would soon extinguish the very embers of revolution in France. To confirm the cabinet in this warlike disposition, to rouse the national spirit to renewed exertions, to point out the dishonor and danger of forming treaties with men who exhibited a notorious contempt for good faith, and were stained with blood

¹ In this year they were unusually large.

shed in violation of all honorable principle, Mr. Burke published his celebrated 'Letters on a Regicide Peace.' His conceptions, however, regarding the war differed materially from those of the minister: he thought that it would not only be violent, but protracted; that it was essential to success to disclaim all partition of the soil of France, to distinguish between the government and the nation, and to declare against the jacobin faction, as distinct from the people; that France ought to be attacked on her own territory, in the first instance by a British army sent to La Vendée; that it was impolitic to employ troops and fleets in reducing West Indian islands, while the French armies were suffered to overrun the continent; and that England, possessing an actual force of near 300,000 men, with an invincible navy of 500 ships of war, might make an irresistible impression on any part of the French territory.

This was the last scintillation of that genius, which shed so great a splendor on its own times, and is destined to send down to posterity the clearest views of political philosophy that ever flowed from a human pen. A severe calamity had lately overtaken him in the death of his only son, of whose talents and virtues he had formed the highest expectations, and for whose advancement he had vacated his seat in parliament: nor is it unreasonable to suppose that the troubles which he saw imminent over his country contributed to that prostration of frame which soon followed, and in the next year brought him to the grave. It is evident, that this great man looked into the future with a very discerning eye, and with that capacity to point out consequences, which was one of the greatest of his many high qualities: in fact, almost all the errors of the war proceeded from a neglect of his views; as all its successful operations, towards the close of it, arose from their adoption. It was only when England directed her efforts against the French territory; threw a powerful body of troops on the continent; made her militia the nursery of her army; and, instead of employing her fleets on expeditions against sugar islands, sent them to sustain powerful invasions;—that she rose triumphant over her enemy: it was only when the allies, following this example, determined to engage with France on her own soil, disclaiming all partition, and announcing that the war was not against the nation, but against the tyranny, perfidy, ambition of its government;—that they discovered the right road which conducted them to its capital.

CHAP. XXXIX.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1796.

State of military affairs—Reduction of La Vendée—Campaign under Moreau and Jourdan in Germany against the archduke Charles—Italian campaign of Napoleon, including the surrender of Corsica, and isle of Elba—War with Spain, &c.—Dutch attempt to retake the Cape of Good Hope frustrated—French expedition to the coast of Ireland—Capture of Sir Sidney Smith and captain Wright—Action of captain Trollope in the Glatt—Success of the French in Newfoundland—Quarrel between the French and American governments—Financial state of France, and distress consequent on it—Reduction of the national debt—Vain attempts of the French government against British commerce—Death of the empress of Russia and the king of Sardinia—Meeting of parliament, &c.—Discussion respecting peace—Mr. Pitt's plans for increasing the military power of the country—Land and sea forces—Supplies and loans, &c.—Vote of censure against the minister on account of German subsidy, rejected—Mission of lord Malmesbury to Paris—Negociation for peace fails—British manifesto—Discussion of it in parliament.

THE campaign of this year, when compared with those that preceded it, appears like a war of giants; so vast were its plans, so numerous the forces engaged, and so tremendous the issue of its conflicts. France had three objects in contemplation: an invasion of Germany; another of Italy; and the subjugation of La Vendée, which, by its connexion with the royalists and England, threw great embarrassments on all other military operations. Hostilities had raged in that unhappy district during the winter: early in the spring, however, the active and experienced Hoche was sent against the insurgents with an immense army; Charette was completely defeated, and his followers dispersed: an amnesty was then proclaimed, and such a plan of conciliation adopted, as ultimately restored tranquillity.

The archduke Charles of Austria, brother to the emperor, and a great military genius, headed the Austrian army: with

him was joined the veteran Wurmser, who at the age of eighty exhibited almost the activity of youth: 175,000 troops, of which 40,000 were the finest cavalry in Europe, defended the entrance of Germany, on the side of the Rhine; against whom Jourdan and Moreau were despatched with 150,000 men: the former approached the empire by the Upper Rhine, while the latter directed his course through Suabia.

The first successes of the French were brilliant: they drove all the Austrian corps back from the frontiers; deprived them of their magazines, cannon, and arms; and threatened the hereditary states. Within six weeks, the Austrians were reduced by a third of their original force; and the French armies covered the country from Stutgard to the lake of Constance, a line of 150 miles.

But the hour of retribution was at hand: by one of those singular changes of circumstances, which operate so powerfully in war, the French abandoned the principle of concentrating their attacks on separate portions of the opposing army; while the Austrians combined their forces, and impinged on the separated corps of the French. The fortune of the campaign was immediately reversed. The archduke, in his interesting Memoirs, tells us, that his purpose was, to retreat slowly, disputing every inch of ground without hazarding an engagement; until the two retiring armies came so near together, that he could fall with superior force on one or other of the adversaries. Continuing at the head of the army opposed to Moreau, until he had successively led it across the Neckar, and the difficult country intervening between that river and the Danube, he suddenly came on his antagonist at the passage of the river; and after a gallant action, in which he at one time turned the French right, and would have thrown the whole army into confusion, but for the firmness of their centre, he crossed the Danube, and placed his troops in safety.

Here the war paused; for the blow was to be struck in another quarter. Jourdan had pressed forward along the valley of the Maine, to turn the right of the Germans under Wartensleben: that officer continued his retreat, slowly converging toward his position on the Danube, and followed by Jourdan with the eagerness of anticipated victory: but the time for teaching him a fatal lesson was come. On the twentieth of August, the archduke, leaving Latour with 35,000 men to defend Austria against Moreau, brought 28,000 into Wartensleben's lines: the united force amounted to nearly 63,000; that of the enemy scarcely reached 45,000; the attack

was made without delay, and began the most sanguinary and decisive campaign in the war.

Within two days of his arrival, the archduke gave orders to drive in the French advanced guard under Bernadotte, posted at the foot of the mountains: the struggle was severe; but in a few hours, the French were compelled to retire through the gorges in their rear. The archduke, with a vigor new to the national character, now turned to throw himself, with his victorious troops, on the main body under Jourdan: he found that general strongly posted; but the confidence of the Austrians in their commander was at its height: they rushed boldly through all difficulties; and the enemy made but a feeble resistance: their flank was turned; their centre was forced; and the desperate valor of Ney alone, in command of the rear guard, rescued the army from finding its grave in the memorable position of Amberg. All was now confusion in the French camp, and the only alternative was a speedy retreat. Those who have witnessed the march of armies, can alone conceive the wretchedness that now awaited the republicans through the long mountainous ranges from the Naab to the Maine: during six terrible days and nights, their army wound its slow way through the mountains, with the archduke thundering in its rear; and, on emerging at Wurtzburg, Jourdan made an effort to recover the honor of France, by waiting for the Austrian columns advancing from the ravines. The occasion was judiciously chosen; for the pursuers, rushing down from the mountains, were liable to be attacked in their disorder; while the French had time to choose their points of assault. But superior tactics were again combined with superior intrepidity: the archduke out-manceuvred Jourdan; and while the latter was preparing to commence an attack on what he thought a portion of the antagonist army, he suddenly found himself enveloped by the whole, and was assailed at once in front and flank. After endeavoring to restore the fortune of the day by a desperate charge of cavalry, which was utterly routed by the Austrian cuirassiers, Jourdan saw that his only chance of safety lay in a retreat: the order was given, and the infantry plunged into the recesses of the forest.

From this time the only hope of the French general was in the rapidity of his march: it cost him immense sacrifices; for before he reached the banks of the Lahn, he lost 122 pieces of cannon, captured in the towns on his advance; and 143 of his own. There he gladly halted; and having been reinforced with 25,000 troops under Marceau, was forced to give battle to his

pursuers, was defeated, and saved only by the coming on of night. Having abandoned his position, he was pursued by the Austrian cavalry, who slaughtered his troops as they were straggling through the woods; and his retreat for three days was a perpetual battle, till he reached Altenburg, a position memorable by the fall of the gallant Marceau, in command of the rear guard. The routed army now lost all hope; and, flying to the Rhine, crossed that river at Bonn on the twentieth of September, totally dismantled, and incapable of moving during the rest of the campaign.

But the archduke was about to obtain another wreath of glory. During the retreat of Jourdan, Moreau's force, 70,000 of the finest troops of France, had penetrated into Bavaria, and was advancing to the very heart of Germany: the gallant prince received this intelligence at the moment when he was in sight of the French columns; and the prompt reply was,—‘Let him advance to the gates of Vienna, if he will: he is undone, if we beat Jourdan.’ With these words he continued the pursuit; and having driven the last man of that army from the violated soil of his country, he turned to vindicate it from the insults of another foe still more formidable. Moreau's genius was that of caution; and the advance of Latour's light troops at Ulm was instantly adopted as the signal of a retreat through 200 miles of mountain and forest, from Bavaria to the Rhine; a retreat, which is still commemorated as one of the most consummate displays of generalship in military annals: it must, however, be confessed, that he had no slight advantages in a compact force of 70,000 men, untouched by disaster, and enjoying the abundance of an unspoiled country; against an army of 63,000, divided into four distinct corps, separated from each other by large tracts of country, and wearied with perpetual battle.

At Biberach, near the entrance of the Black Forest, Moreau made the first stand against his vigorous pursuer, Latour, who could bring no more than 24,000 men into the field. The French threw on him such a weight of numbers, that nothing but the most heroic resistance could have saved his army from destruction: the position was partially forced, and at nightfall the conflict ceased, with the loss of 4000 Austrians on the field, and 18 pieces of cannon. The French force now plunged into the Black Forest, in three divisions; the main body marching through the Vallée d'Enfer; while the left and right divisions, under Dessaix and Ferino, cleared the mountains of the enemy's light troops on its flanks. After sixteen days of deliberate

manœuvres in those perilous passes, he formed his lines in the valley of the Rhine ; and he now appeared less a fugitive than a conqueror, when the presence of the archduke Charles suddenly changed the aspect of affairs. Determined to drive the last squadron of France across the Rhine, he collected all his strength, and threw himself on his foes, at the foot of Waldkirch height : after a long resistance, the position was carried, and the whole French line driven into the forest behind the Elz. One battle more was to clear the territory : the French commander pitched his tent on the rocky ridge of Hohenblau, whence he could survey the forest he had passed, and the river, which was so soon to form his line of safety. The position was admirably chosen : with his left on the Rhine, his centre on a citadel of rocks, and his right embattled on precipices, he seemed almost beyond the reach of attack : but the Germans were in sight of the Rhine ; a new spirit of patriotism had sprung up among them ; and they saw their favorite general at their head. Rapidly forming into four columns, they climbed the precipices, burst through a shower of grape and musketry pouring from the heights, and with the bayonet plunged into the masses of their antagonists. The struggle was brief ; the French gave way with terrible slaughter, and were chased from the heights : at the river side, they were suddenly saved from destruction by a storm of rain and wind, memorable for its tremendous violence. The battle was suspended amidst the roaring of the thunder, the bursts of the whirlwind, and a deluge of rain. Moreau crossed the river in the night, and interposed that barrier between himself and his conquerors.

The archduke now proposed to crush the French invasion of Italy by throwing an army across the Tyrol ; but the evil genius of Austria, in her Aulic council, prevailed : he was ordered to assault Kehl, the chief fortress in the French possession on the right bank of the Rhine ; and, perhaps, no operation of the kind was ever conducted on a larger scale : not fewer than 30,000 troops were appointed for its defence, with a large reserve in the Rhenish islands : the besieging troops under Latour were 40,000, with the archduke's army as a covering force. On the twenty-first of October the trenches were opened ; and from that period there was a succession of sorties and encounters, of the fiercest kind, amidst the most inclement weather, which deluged the trenches with rain : still the Austrians persevered, and the place capitulated on the ninth of January, after its defences had been crushed under the weight of an artillery, which poured into it 100,000 balls and 25,000

shells: the *tête du pont* of Huningen, assailed with the same vigor, also surrendered; and the liberation of Germany from the presence of its republican enemy was complete.

But it was not in Germany that the fate of Austria was to be decided: when the French rulers directed their grand operations against the empire on the side of the Rhine, they determined to make a powerful diversion in Italy; and sent thither Napoleon Buonaparte, at once the liberator and spoliator of that interesting country. A detail of the battles of this celebrated conqueror must be left to the general historian; our province is rather to give the results of his rapid and extraordinary conquests. The decisive and spirit-stirring tone with which he was accustomed to animate his troops by the anticipation of victory, was strikingly exemplified in his first appeal to them on the Alpine frontier:—‘Soldiers,’ said he, ‘you are almost naked, and half-starved; the government owes you much, and can give you nothing: your patience, and your courage, in the midst of these rocks, are admirable; but they reflect no splendor on your arms: I am about to conduct you into the finest plains of the earth: fertile provinces, opulent cities, will soon be in your power: there you will find rich harvests, honor and glory. Soldiers of Italy! will you fail in courage?’ Against this band of intrepid republicans were arrayed about 80,000 imperialists, well disciplined, ably commanded, and provided with every species of necessaries: the king of Sardinia’s army was 60,000 strong, while the pope and the king of Naples were occupied in embodying as many troops as their circumstances would permit; the latter having despatched more than 2000 horse to serve in the emperor’s army: besides, an excellent naval commander, Sir John Jervis, had taken the command of the British fleet in the Mediterranean, by whom the indefatigable Nelson was employed to co-operate with the allies. But, although the greatest force which the French could afford to their illustrious general, before La Vendée was reduced, did not exceed 50,000 men, with this he advanced against his numerous antagonists; and before the end of April, assisted by the talents and courage of Augereau and Massena, had gained the important battles of Montenotte, Millesimo, Dego, and Mondovi, by which he effected a separation of the Austrian and Piedmontese armies. The king of Sardinia was then obliged to appease the conqueror, whom he could no longer resist: his negociators were desirous of making conditions; but the characteristic reply of Napoleon was,—‘It is for me to impose conditions: unless you obey, my

batteries are erected by to-morrow, and Turin is in flames.' Having definitively annexed Savoy to the French territory, he required the surrender of almost all its important fortresses, except Turin; by which means he opened the gorges of the Alps, and, at the same time, secured a free passage across Piedmont. On the day of signing the armistice, he thus wrote to the directory:—'Coni, Cevi, Alessandria, are in the hands of your army: if you do not ratify the convention, I shall keep those fortresses, and march on Turin: meanwhile, I shall advance to-morrow against Beaulieu, and drive him across the Po: I shall follow close at his heels, overrun Lombardy, and in a month enter the Tyrol; join the army of the Rhine, and carry our united forces into Bavaria. The design is worthy of you, of the army, and of the destinies of France. If you continue your confidence in me, I will answer for the result; and Italy is at your feet.'

The answer of the directory applauded the zeal of the general, and approved his plan, as far as it went to drive the Austrians into the Tyrol; but, in lieu of following them, it directed him to march with half the army against Rome and Naples, leaving the other half under Kellerman, who would be sent as second in command: he was also reminded to consult the commission of the directory on all important occasions. This hint, as well as the proposal of dividing the army, stirred up the temper of Napoleon: he replied, in a manner highly characteristic of himself, that nothing great or decisive could be effected but by one uncontrolled commander. 'Break the unity of military thought,' said he, 'and you lose Italy: Kellerman has more experience than I have, and knows how to make war better: but both together we shall make it badly. I would not willingly serve with a man who considers himself the first general in Europe.' The directory, or rather Carnot, was wise enough to leave the management of the contest to Napoleon.

Beaulieu had posted his army at the confluence of the Tesino and Po, under an expectation, which was encouraged by Buonaparte, that his foe intended to pass the latter stream at Valenza, where there was a bridge: but the French general, having made a rapid march down the right bank to Piacenza, passed the river in boats; and attacking the nearest Austrian division, routed and drove it to Pizzighitone on the Adda, the only river now intervening between the French and Milan. Thither he hastened, but found the place too well garrisoned for an attack; accordingly, he traced his course upwards to the

next bridge, which was that of Lodi: thus far also Beaulieu had made good his retreat, with half his army; the rest having been sent to garrison Milan. The attack on this bridge was one of the most remarkable exploits in Buonaparte's career: so formidable was the battery by which it was covered, that to this alone its defence was committed; Beaulieu withdrawing his troops out of reach of the enemy's shot; and considering that his antagonist, as a tactician, would not venture to approach the bridge: but he knew not the enemy with whom he was engaged. A column of the stoutest grenadiers was formed, and prepared to cross; but its front was shattered by a shower of balls, and 700 men fell at one discharge: the column, recoiling at this blow, hesitated for a time; till Napoleon and his staff placed themselves at its head, and cheered them on to victory: the first fire of the battery was the grand obstacle; that withstood, the French rushed on the Austrian guns, and bayoneted the cannoneers: the cavalry followed, and had time to form and charge before the main line of the tardy Austrians could come up: these soon fled from the vigorous assault of the French, leaving behind their artillery, colors, and some thousands of prisoners. This action had exactly the effect on his troops which Napoleon was anxious to produce: it inspired them with the idea that they were invincible; in which point of view, though the slaughter was tremendous, and the actual result of success comparatively small, the victory itself was of incalculable importance. 'It was after the passage of Lodi,' said he, 'that the idea shot across my mind, that I might become a decisive actor on the theatre of political events: then arose, for the first time, the spark of great ambition.'

Rapidity of movement was a striking feature in the system of warfare introduced by this new conqueror: five days after the action at Lodi, he was making his triumphant entry into Milan, where he met with a most enthusiastic welcome, while he proclaimed himself the assertor of Italian independence. He, however, levied immense contributions, not only on the Milanese, but on Parma and Modena, as the price of an armistice; part of his terms with the latter cities being the surrender of their choicest works of art; that species of spoil, which from this period distinguished the military successes of France; and which, of all prizes, was the most gratifying to its people: nor was it long before he reaped a fresh harvest of these inestimable treasures. Alarmed at the advance of so formidable an enemy, both the pope and the king of Naples sued for an armistice: it was granted to his Sicilian majesty on the easy terms of withdrawing all assist-

ance from the allied army; but the sovereign pontiff was obliged to cede, not only the cities then in possession of the French, but to add Ancona also to their number, with a contribution of 20,000,000 francs by instalments, and 100 statues, pictures, busts, and vases, to be selected by competent judges. In the mean time, the harsh terms of French fraternisation created an extensive revolt in Lombardy. Napoleon, who had resumed his march eastward, and was advanced as far as Lodi, returned to Milan, where he found the insurrection put down: at Pavia it had been more successful; for the insurgents had expelled the French garrison, and gained possession of the citadel. With the artillery, that sovereign arm against the mob, he battered down the gates, swept the streets with grape-shot, and gave up the city to pillage: having also sent the magistrates, with several other persons of distinction, to be shot in cold blood, he rejoined his army, and from this period published his offers of freedom, and pillaged by wholesale.

He now entered the Venetian states, without respecting the neutrality of their government, or the recollections connected with its former greatness. Beaulieu, reinforced, had retired behind the Mincio, which runs from the Lago di Garda to Mantua, and was determined to defend its passage: he had taken possession of Peschiera, a fortress on the river where it issues from the lake; and posting his troops along the stream, with his centre at Borghetto, he there waited for his opponents: but the confidence of the Austrians was gone. Buonaparte attacked Borghetto; and though the enemy had blown up an arch in the bridge, the French crossed the water chin-deep, beat their enemies on the opposite bank, re-established the bridge, and obliged the Austrians to abandon Peschiera. Beaulieu then retreated into the gorges of the Tyrol; and Mantua was the only city of Italy where the imperial standard still floated: it was an almost impregnable place, but Napoleon determined to invest it; and his chief concern was to take up an advantageous position for covering the siege: the Adige formed the best line of defence; Verona and Legnano being its keys: Venice was reluctant to yield them; but partly by menace, and partly by trick, Buonaparte gained possession, and threw a garrison into each.

In the mean time, Wurmser, released from his defence of the empire, was sent to rally the scattered troops of Beaulieu; with which and his own forces, amounting in the whole to 60,000, he issued from the Tyrol; and so great was his confidence, that while he advanced down the Adige to relieve

Mantua, he despatched 20,000 men under Quasdanowitch, to march round the Lago di Garda, and cut off the retreat of the French. Then shone forth the great military genius of Napoleon: his projected line of defence on the Adige was useless; for Wurmser's chief force poured down the pass between it and the lake: Massena there was driven from his positions, while Gueux retired before Quasdanowitch. A council of war was called; and all, except Augereau, advised a general retreat; but the resources of their commander were not exhausted: quick as lightning he saw the error committed by Wurmser in marching on two lines separated by the water: the besieging army was instantly drawn from Mantua, and rallied, with all the scattered forces, at the southern extremity of the lake, westward of the Mincio: then, while Wurmser idly advanced on Mantua, to provision the fortress, and perhaps to enjoy the sight of a siege abandoned, Buonaparte threw himself on the other column, as it *debouched* from Brescia, overthrew it, and forced it to retreat: he then hurried back, scarcely quitting his saddle for many days, to face the enemy which was advancing from the Adige. As he arrived to support Massena, who had been driven from Lonato, along the road from Brescia, the Austrians advanced their wings to envelop him, and to throw their right as near as possible to Quasdanowitch: Napoleon allowed them to extend themselves, until the moment of attack arrived; seizing this, he threw forward his whole force, and broke their centre, which was strenuously pursued by Junot, to whom, ultimately, it laid down its arms. Such was the celebrated battle of Lonato, fought on the third of August: that of Castiglione followed on the fifth, when Wurmser himself narrowly escaped capture, and retreated into the Tyrol. In the beginning of September, the Austrian general, being reinforced, resumed offensive operations; but, strange to say, he again committed the fault of dividing his forces to cover the two lines of Roveredo and Vicenza. Napoleon, instead of following his example, attacked the division under Davidowitch at Roveredo, and totally overthrew it: he then marched straight after Wurmser down the Brenta, attacked him at Bassano, and forced him to retire for refuge, with 15,000 men, into the fortress of Mantua.

To form the siege anew was all that was left to the French general: had the army of the Rhine been equally successful, he might have passed through the Tyrol, and acted in concert with it against the Austrian territory; but his own was too weak to attempt this by itself: he therefore waited for the events of war, and busied himself in extending French in-

fluence: Modena and Reggio were encouraged to expel their sovereign; and these, being united with Ferrara and Bologna, were formed, under French protection, into the Cispadane republic. Soon, however, a fourth army was sent by the indefatigable court of Austria, under field-marshal Alvinzi, to contend with him in the field; and Buonaparte, who had not yet received a single reinforcement from the directory, felt as if the fruits of all his victories were about to be torn from his grasp. A part of his forces under Vaubois were driven back by an Austrian column, which descended from the Tyrol under general Davidowitch: he himself attacked Alvinzi on the Brenta, and gained only a trifling advantage; the Austrians advanced to the strong heights of Caldiero, within a few leagues of Verona, from which the French were unable to dislodge them; but the genius of Napoleon never deserted him. Evacuating Verona, he led his forces down the Adige as far as Ronco; crossed the river, and took a position in the rear of the Austrians: between him and his enemy, however, was a bridge over the Alpone at Arcola: this was strongly defended by cannon; but to carry it was indispensable: Augereau attacked it with the utmost gallantry, but was twice repulsed: Napoleon himself then threw himself among the soldiers, seized a flag, and bore it at their head; while more than one brave officer fell in covering his general with his own body: every effort, however, was fruitless: the column was driven back; and Buonaparte, borne with the flying troops into an adjoining marsh, narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. All hope of surprising Alvinzi was thus lost; but that general, instead of advancing on Verona, imprudently followed his antagonist into the marshes of Ronco and Arcola, where his columns were swept off the long causeways by French artillery, until the two armies were rendered more equal: then followed the great battle of Arcola on the seventeenth of November, in which Alvinzi was beat from the field with immense loss, and obliged, like his predecessor, to take refuge in the Austrian Alps.

Buonaparte soon felt that the conquest of all Italy was within his reach. Treaties, and the rights of neutral, or even friendly powers, were little regarded: in open contempt of both he had invaded Tuscany, and taken possession of Leghorn under pretence of dislodging the English: in consequence of this movement, Nelson blockaded that port, and landed a force in the isle of Elba, to secure Porto Ferrajo. Genoa, whose government had long assisted France covertly, now openly sided with that republican power, willingly yielding to the

first menace, by which it was required to exclude the English from their ports: in consequence, the British admiral seized on the island of Capraia, which had formerly belonged to Corsica; but this act of vigor was not followed up by the government; as it at this time depended too much on the continental states, and too little on its own resources: accordingly, orders were given for the evacuation of Corsica itself;—a measure, that was considered necessary, after Spain had entered into an offensive alliance with France; which event took place in August this year. ‘It was impolitic,’ says Mr. Southey,² ‘to annex the island in question to the British dominions; but having done so, it was disgraceful thus to abandon it.’ No one felt this disgrace more keenly than Nelson, by whose activity and courage, at the evacuation of Bastia, not only all private property belonging to his countrymen, but the public stores, valued at £200,000, were saved from that pillage which the republicans attempted. Having then hoisted his broad pendant on board the *Minerva* frigate, with the *Blanche* under his command, he proceeded to superintend the evacuation also of Porto Ferrajo; the British fleet having, in consequence of peace being made between Naples and the republic, received orders to quit the Mediterranean station, and proceed to the support of Portugal.

The Dutch government, determined not to part with so valuable a settlement as the Cape of Good Hope without a struggle, fitted out two ships of the line and five smaller vessels, which anchored on the second of August in Saldanha-bay; but at the very time when general Craig was marching toward the coast to meet the invaders, he perceived a British fleet of seven sail of the line, with several smaller vessels, steering to the harbor. Admiral Elphinstone, its commander, anchored within gun-shot of the enemy, and sent a summons to the Dutch admiral; who knowing resistance to be wholly useless, delivered up his squadron without having fired a gun.

The state of Ireland encouraged the French directory this year to strike a blow of no common magnitude. On the twentieth of December, general Hoche, who had so distinguished himself in the affairs of La Vendée, embarked at Brest, with 15,000 troops, to co-operate with the disaffected Irish, who were both numerous and organised for insurrection. Admiral Villaret Joyeuse conducted the naval part of the expedition, with eighteen ships of the line, beside frigates and transports: but he had scarcely left the harbor, when a storm arose, which

² See his *Life of Nelson*.

dispersed his fleet; and, separating the frigate which carried Hoche, obliged him to take refuge in Rochelle, after being chased by two British ships. Of the whole, only eight sail of the line reached the coast of Ireland, and appeared in Bantry-bay; but they were forced off that station in a few days by tempestuous weather; and the whole expedition, after having lost a ship of the line and two frigates in the gale, was obliged to return to France without having effected a landing; fortunate in escaping the British fleet under lord Bridport, which arrived in Bantry-bay almost immediately after its departure.

Such was the determined courage of British seamen at this period, that scarcely any superiority of force could repress their ardor to attack it: even in port the enemy's vessels were constantly boarded and cut out, under the incessant fire of batteries and the discharge of musketry. On one of these occasions, the service had to lament the capture of two able officers, captain Wright and Sir Sidney Smith; who were taken, after a most obstinate resistance, in an attempt to cut an armed lugger out of the inner road of Havre de Grace: the different fates of these gallant men are well known: they were treated, during their captivity, to use captain Wright's own words, 'in a manner unparalleled in military history; the enemy endeavoring to justify such conduct, by affixing to their expedition a motive and character incompatible with the laws of war.' One of the most gallant actions during the war was fought on the sixteenth of July, by captain Trollope in the *Glatton*, of sixty-four guns, with six French frigates; which he beat off, though surrounded in such a manner as to be attacked at once on his lee quarter, weather-bow, and stern. In August the French made a successful expedition to Newfoundland, where shipping and merchandise to a large amount were captured or destroyed.

Scarcely was the new government of France installed, when it became involved in a quarrel with America, on account of the treaty lately executed between it and Great Britain. By the treaty of 1778, which was still in force, the Americans had guarantied to France their West Indian colonies; but, by the treaty of 1795, they consented that even supplies of provisions sent by them to those islands should be treated as illegal commerce: the directory, in consequence, affecting to regard the Americans as secret enemies, made such depredations on their trade, as almost amounted to a commercial war: an *arrêt* was also issued on the third of July, ordering French ships of war to observe such conduct towards the vessels of neutral nations

as they had hitherto suffered, without resenting it, from the English: thus began that oppressive system, by which neutral powers were doomed to be persecuted in the future progress of the war: toward the close of the summer, Mr. Monroe, the American ambassador at Paris, was recalled; and the directory refused to receive Mr. Pinkney, who was appointed to be his successor; at the same time, they suspended M. Adet, French resident at Philadelphia, from his functions. So stood the foreign relations of the United States, when Washington finally retired from the cares of government, to enjoy a short period of repose under his beloved shades of Mount Vernon.

While the arms of France were extending her conquests, the directory was under the necessity of attending to the subject of finance: the quantity of circulating assignats had risen in January to forty-five milliards; and the depreciation was so excessive, that one thousand million of francs produced only a million in metallic currency; i. e., the paper currency had fallen to a thousandth part of its value. To stop this alarming evil, government adopted the plan of issuing a new species of paper-money, to be called territorial *mandats*, and intended to draw in the assignats at the rate of thirty for one: this was, in fact, creating a different kind of assignats, with an inferior denomination; and was meant to conceal the enormous depreciation of the old ones. Such now became the national currency, and formed a legal tender: at the same time, a law was passed to sell the remainder of the national domains, which were assigned over to the holder of *mandats* without any other formality than a simple *procès verbal*, which at first tended to raise their value. Two milliards and four hundred millions in this currency were issued; while the severest measures were adopted to give it a forced circulation; penalties being even enacted against selling *mandats* at less than their nominal value in gold or silver: but although they were secured on an extent of land supposed to be of equal value, they began to decline, and were soon at a discount nearly as great, in proportion to their value, as the old assignats. By no possible measure of finance, could paper money, distrusted abroad and redundant at home, be maintained at any thing like its nominal value: government, therefore, with all its civil servants and public creditors, were suffering the severest privations; and while the armies of Pichegru and Napoleon, paid in the coin extracted from foreign states, were living in luxury; those on the soil of the republic, and paid in its depreciated paper, were

starving: the general distress became at last so intolerable, that the great refuge of the sufferers was suicide: all classes began to perceive that it was in vain to pursue the chimera of upholding the value of paper under so excessive a depreciation; and on the sixteenth of July, it was declared that every one was at liberty to transact business in what money he chose; and that the *mandats* should be taken at their current value, taxes being received either in coin, or *mandats* at that rate; for which it was also decreed, that the undisposed national domains should be sold. These expedients, however, could not long defer the evil day: deprived of the extraordinary resource of issuing paper, the directory were obliged to calculate their real revenue, and endeavor to accommodate their expenditure to that standard: but their calculation was erroneous; for their revenue proved much less, and their expenditure much greater, than had been anticipated; meanwhile, the armies were in extreme penury, and all the national establishments on the brink of ruin. In these circumstances, it was not possible to avoid a bankruptcy; and at length, the public creditors, once so loud in praise of the first movements of the revolution, became its victims in 1797, by the annihilation of two-thirds of the national debt.

Various had been the plans of annoyance projected against England by the French government; but all had been hitherto delayed or set aside as inadequate or impracticable, until it was suggested that the most effectual method of opposing her with advantage, was to exclude her manufactures from every port subject to French control. This new species of hostility was carried into execution with as much despatch as the jarring interests of the continental states would allow; and British goods were soon unable to obtain legal entrance into any port from the Elbe to the Adriatic, except those belonging to the Hans Towns, Portugal, and Russia: but the capital, power, and enterprise of Great Britain still forced her manufactures, through different inlets, into countries subject to the severest restrictions; while her merchants opened new and innumerable sources of wealth in other quarters of the globe.

On the sixth of November this year died Catharine II. of Russia, having lived to see the conclusion of that grand tragedy which she had commenced, in the partition of Poland. She had divided the spoil with others, but not the dominion; and what she had granted would perhaps have been reclaimed, had she not been surprised by death. No one of her predecessors

had exercised influence like hers on Europe: but affairs were changed, when her only son, Paul I. ascended the throne with different maxims. About the same time also died Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, who left his dominions in a very different condition to his son, the prince of Piedmont.

The British parliament met on the sixth of October, and his majesty stated that he had omitted no endeavors to obtain peace, and to secure general tranquillity: at the same time, he recommended a renewal of exertions, as a manifestation of our power and determination to carry on the war, if necessary. The party attached to Mr. Burke, adopting his opinions wholly or partially, reprobated all negociation with the republic; but ministers declared that they had never stated or supposed that the security of our own realms was unattainable without the re-establishment of monarchy in France. The French government, it was said, appeared to have a tendency towards moderation; our own country also was improved in tranquillity, through the operation of wise enactments passed last session; and a fair opening for negociation was acknowledged. The chief part of the opposition, however, though they heartily approved of this declaration, could not, judging from the conduct rather than the profession of ministers, give them credit for sincerity. Mr. Pitt strongly represented, that the surest way of obtaining favorable terms of peace was to be prepared for war; and he exhibited a very encouraging account of the state of the country, and the increased extent of its resources.

A clause in his majesty's speech had declared his apprehension of an invasion; Mr. Pitt therefore recommended the adoption of measures for repelling such an attempt; for which purpose he formed a plan for levying 15,000 men from the different parishes for the sea service, and another for recruiting the regular regiments, without materially interfering with the general industry of the country: to effect this he proposed a supplementary levy of militia to be grafted on the old establishment, to the number of 60,000; not to be immediately called out, but to be enrolled and trained, so as to be fit for service at a moment of danger: he also proposed to provide 20,000 irregular cavalry; every person who kept ten horses being obliged to furnish one horse and horseman, those who kept more to provide in proportion, and those who kept less to be distributed into classes to furnish one at the common expense. These propositions all passed into laws: a bill was also brought in and carried by Mr. Dundas, to raise a militia in

Scotland. The whole number of land forces intended for 1797 was 195,694; that of seamen 120,000. By the annual statement of finances, it appeared that £18,000,000 would be required by way of loan, exclusive of £5,500,000 of exchequer bills, and about £13,500,000 of victualling, transport, and navy bills, which the minister proposed to fund. This loan was followed by a second, during this same session, of £18,000,000, comprehending various deficiencies, and including a vote of three millions for the emperor of Germany. The terms were highly advantageous to the monied interest, as it was funded at less than £50 for each £100 of three per cents. Though the lowest classes still continued to be exempted from the severest pressure of the new taxes, yet the principal part of them bore heavily on the comforts of the middle ranks;³ and in the ministerial plans of finance, complaints began to be made, not without justice, that the very opulent did not contribute in proportion to their property. Mr. Pitt having admitted, on moving the vote of credit, that £1,200,000 had been advanced to the emperor without the previous consent of parliament, Mr. Fox observed, that if such a measure did not meet with reprobation, he should think that man a hypocrite who pretended to see any distinction between this government and an absolute monarchy; and the majority in favor of ministers, on the motion for a vote of censure, was smaller than usual.

During these preparations for carrying on the war, negotiations for peace were opened, more in compliance with a prevalent wish among the people, than from any anxiety of their rulers to obtain it. His Britannic majesty, from whom the proposal originated, sent lord Malmesbury to Paris in the autumn, for the purpose of adjusting the terms of reconciliation; but the elation of the republicans by their success in Italy, and their hopes from Ireland, were calculated to obstruct such views: besides, an envoy despatched about this time by the court of London to that of Berlin, with an intent, as was supposed, of drawing Prussia again into a coalition, excited considerable jealousy in the minds of the Directors. Under these adverse circumstances, lord Malmesbury opened his commission, proposing a mutual restitution of conquests as the basis of a treaty; and as France had made no acquisitions from Great Britain, he offered to give up our conquests in

³ The fresh imposts were on tea, coffee, spirits, sugar, &c.; on assessed taxes, postage, stage coaches, and canal navigation.

return for what she might restore to the allies. The directory were at first unwilling to admit the interference of other powers in the negociation ; but this point was at length got over ; and lord Malmesbury, being requested to declare his system of compensation more fully, proposed the restitution of all conquests from the emperor in the Netherlands and in Italy ; the accession of Russia to the treaty ; and the including of Portugal, without any indemnification required by France : in return for which, Great Britain would restore her conquests in both Indies : no obstacle, it was said, would be interposed by his Britannic majesty against Spain becoming a party in the negociation ; and in case Holland were reinstated in the same political situation as before the war, her colonial possessions captured by Great Britain would be restored ; but if she continued a republic, their Britannic and imperial majesties would be obliged to seek, in territorial compensations, that security which such a state of things would render indispensable. When these memorials were given in, it was asked whether the disunion of Belgium and France was considered indispensable, or a *sine qua non* ; to which an answer was given in the affirmative ; since the annexation of the Netherlands to the French republic would be attended with much greater benefit to that power, and loss to the allies, than the state of affairs intitled the directory to expect. In the course of discussion, M. de la Croix said that this difficulty could never be surmounted ; and in two days afterwards, he requested lord Malmesbury to send in his ultimatum : to this his lordship replied, that so peremptory a demand of an ultimatum before the respective powers had communicated to each other their pretensions, was to shut the door against all negociation ; but he repeated, that he was ready to discuss the proposals of his court, or of any *contre-projet* which might be delivered to him on the part of the directory : the answer of that body was, that they would listen to no proposal contrary to the constitution, the laws, and the treaties which bound the republic ; and as lord Malmesbury announced that he must seek the opinion of his court, it appeared evident that he was not invested with sufficient powers to treat : he was therefore required to quit the capital in two days, and the territory of the republic as expeditiously as possible ; 'but,' it was added, 'if the British cabinet be really desirous of peace, the executive directory is ready to follow the negociations according to the basis laid down in the present note by the reciprocal transmission of couriers.' Thus ended the first attempt at peace ; and the

British ministry, ascribing its abrupt conclusion intirely to France, published a manifesto, dated the twenty-seventh of December, enlarging on their own pacific dispositions, and setting forth the malignant hostility of the French republic.

This document was laid before parliament, when ministers took the opportunity of expatiating on it in eloquent and impressive comments, calculated to animate the indignation of members, and of the country at large, against the government of France. Mr. Pitt asserted that the rupture of the late negotiations was wholly due to that government, which demanded, not as an ultimatum, but as a preliminary, to retain all territories, of which the war had given them a temporary possession, and respecting which they thought proper to pass a decree, annexing them unalienably to the republic: and not content with thus abrogating the law of nations, as well as previous treaties, they had offered a studied insult to his majesty, by ordering his ambassador to quit Paris, and proposing to carry on the negociation by reciprocal couriers. 'The question then is,' said Mr. Pitt, 'not how much you will give for peace; but how much disgrace you will suffer at the outset; how much degradation you will submit to as a preliminary. Shall we then persevere in the war, with a spirit and energy worthy of the British name and character; or shall we, by sending couriers to Paris, prostrate ourselves at the feet of a stubborn, supercilious government? I hope there is not a hand in his majesty's council that would sign the proposal; that there is not a heart in this house which would sanction the measure; and that there is not an individual in the realm that would act as courier.' Mr. Erskine, in answering the minister's speech, took a general view of the causes and consequences of the war, and endeavored to prove that the ostensible were not the real grounds of the rupture. Mr. Fox argued that the whole amount of Mr. Pitt's splendid oration, was to admit that we had been four years engaged in a war, unprecedented for expense, both in men and money; that after all our efforts, so honorable to the British people; after an addition of £200,000,000 to our national debt, and of £9,000,000 to our permanent taxes; after a dreadful effusion of human blood, and an incalculable addition to human misery; we had gained no object for which we set out in the war; nay, the minister this night had proved, by his elaborate speech, that the enemy had from success become more unreasonable in their pretensions, and that all hopes of peace were removed to a greater distance than ever. After descant-

ing on the folly of persisting in hostilities against the French government on account of Belgium, and auguring much evil from the unexampled depreciation of the funds in consequence of lord Malmesbury's return, Mr. Fox moved an address to the throne, recommending that his majesty's faithful commons should proceed to investigate the conduct of ministers, whose infatuated counsels had involved this nation in her present misfortunes, and frustrated the late negotiations. A similar motion was made in the upper house by lord Oxford, but both were negatived; while opposite addresses, approving highly of the general system of administration, as well as the principles and conduct of the negotiation, were carried by such large majorities, that Mr. Fox, disgusted at what he thought venality and servility in parliament, began to contemplate a secession from the house of commons.

CHAP. XL.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1797.

General state of the nation—Stoppage of cash payments at the Bank—Ministerial and parliamentary measures thereon—Consequences—Mutiny among the sailors—Agitation in Ireland—Motions respecting the same in the two houses—Motions for the dismissal of ministers rejected—Mr. Grey's motion for parliamentary reform—Proposal for inquiry into the state of the nation—Marriage of the princess royal—Session terminates—French expedition to the coast of Wales—State of the enemy's navy—Battle of Cape St. Vincent—Expedition against Teneriffe—Attack on Santa Cruz—Capture of Trinidad, and failure against Porto Rico—Admiral Duncan's victory off Camperdown—General thanksgiving—Military affairs in Italy—Buonaparte crosses the Tyrolese Alps, and advances near to Vienna—Armistice of Leoben—Revolt of the Venetian states, and consequences—Dissensions in the government at Paris—Conduct of Napoleon—Re-establishment of the directory by the military—Circumstances leading to the treaty of Campo Formio—Pacific arrangements—State of Europe—Renewal of pacific negociations between England and France at Lille—Reasons for its failure—Napoleon returns to Paris—The directory wishes him to attempt the invasion of England—He sees the folly of such a plan, but resolves on an expedition to Egypt—Meeting of the British parliament—King's speech—Retirement of opposition members from the house—Address to the king—Increasing popularity of ministers—New financial scheme—Strongly opposed by opposition—Mr. Nicholls's speech—Minister's scheme is carried—Voluntary contributions to the defence of the country—Death of the king of Prussia—Congress of Radstadt—Release of La Fayette by Austria.

THE sentiments of parliament on the state of public affairs, at this time, were far from being general throughout the country : instead of acknowledging signs of national prosperity, a large portion of the people shrunk from the immense burdens of the war, and predicted ruin to the state : in fact, the present year was that of a great crisis. We were involved in a contest apparently interminable, except by our submission ; since little hope appeared of saving the continent from French dominion : at the same time, our national credit seemed tottering to its base ; rebellion was ready to burst out in Ireland ;

and our national defenders, the British seamen, disgusted by real and fancied wrongs, were preparing to turn their mutinous arms against their own country.

The first measure of this session which solicits our attention, is the alteration of the currency, produced by an act authorising the suspension of cash payments at the Bank of England ;—an act of marvellous efficacy in its day ; but which has been productive of consequences far more extensive and important than ever entered into the imagination of its supporters. As the rapid increase of national debt, and the failure of pacific negotiations, had lately created alarm among fundholders, sellers became more numerous than buyers, and the prices of stock fell proportionally : to apprehensions respecting national credit, were added fears for the grand national repository, the Bank of England ; which had been drained of immense sums by government, whose remittances to foreign powers, being necessarily made in specie, had greatly diminished the circulating coin of the kingdom. As early as 1795, the directors had earnestly requested Mr. Pitt so to arrange his financial measures for the year, as not to depend on farther assistance from them ; and at different times they repeated these remonstrances, stating the absolute necessity of diminishing the sum of their advances to government, the last having been granted with great reluctance, at his pressing solicitation : in 1796, however, they again yielded to the urgent demands of the public service : but when the minister, at the commencement of the present year, required still larger advances ; stating that, beside the accommodation to the English treasury, a loan of £1,500,000 would be wanted for Ireland, the governor of the Bank was directed to inform Mr. Pitt that a compliance with his request would ‘ probably oblige the directors to shut up their doors.’

Nor was the accommodation afforded to government the sole cause of alarm to the Bank : timid persons had felt inclined, ever since the beginning of the war, to hoard their cash ; and the fears of invasion had lately induced many capitalists, farmers, and opulent tradesmen to withdraw their deposits from country bankers : the demand for specie which this occasioned soon reached the metropolis ; so that on Monday, the twentieth of February, a great run commenced on the Bank, which went on increasing rapidly till the twenty-fourth, when the demands for cash became so frequent and large, that a deputation of the directors hastened to submit their situation to the consideration of the chancellor of the exchequer, and ask him how far he thought they might venture

to go in paying coin without detriment to the public service. The nature of the case appeared so alarming to the cabinet, that a messenger was instantly despatched to Windsor for his majesty, who came to town, and held a council, the first time during his reign, for the transaction of business on a Sunday. The conclusion to which they came, was an order, prohibiting the Bank from issuing any more gold in payment of its notes, until the sense of parliament could be taken. With a view of allaying the public alarm which this measure was calculated to excite, a notice was appended to the order of the privy council, declaring that the general concerns of the Bank were in so prosperous a condition, as to preclude every doubt as to the security of its notes; that the directors meant to continue their usual discounts for the accommodation of the commercial interest, paying the amount in bank notes, and the dividend warrants in the same manner.

A meeting of merchants and bankers was held the same day at the Mansion-House, when it was determined to support the credit of the Bank by receiving its notes in payment of any sum of money: the lords of council also agreed to a similar resolution. When this subject was announced to the two houses, the opponents and supporters of administration expressed very different opinions respecting it: the former construed the discontinuance of cash payments by the Bank into a state of insolvency and bankruptcy, as usually defined by commercial men; while ministers considered the case as one not to be measured by ordinary rules. The Bank had been stated by the directors to possess, in its corporate property, effects far exceeding all the demands to which it was liable; but from unfounded alarms, it was not allowed to retain the usual quantity of gold and silver: it could not therefore be called insolvent and bankrupt, when its effects would soon bring plenty of gold and silver into its coffers. The first step taken was to appoint two secret committees to ascertain the assets of the Bank beyond its debts; and their reports stated that these amounted to the sum of £3,826,890, exclusive of a permanent debt of £11,666,800 in the three per cent stock, due from government; also that the demands which occasioned this drain of cash had of late progressively increased, and that they were likely to go on so increasing, until they would deprive the Bank of its means of supplying that cash to government, which its pressing exigencies might require. On these reports, Mr. Pitt proposed and carried a bill, enabling the directors to issue notes in payment of demands, instead of cash, agreeably to the late order of council: a

clause also was introduced, which prevented any person from being subject to arrest, who offered Bank of England notes in discharge of a debt: this, however, did not strictly amount to a legal tender; as it was afterwards determined in the courts of law that a creditor might still demand cash in payment of a debt instead of notes. A bill was also introduced to legalise the issue of small notes by private persons; from which time the circulation of gold coin in a great measure ceased, and notes of one pound and upwards became the general medium of commercial intercourse.

With regard to the policy and expediency of this measure, judgment will be given, according as opinions vary with respect to the policy and expediency of the war. There can be no question respecting the necessity of such a bill, if the war was to be carried on; for the whole world could not have supplied us with cash for the vast expenditure in which that war was involving us. Leaving this question therefore in abeyance, let us briefly consider the effects which necessarily resulted from so celebrated a stroke of policy. The circulating medium being now easily multiplied, government was freed from all embarrassment; the benefit of a rising market was generally experienced; taxes could be increased without becoming burdensome; and the minister was enabled to raise any supplies which the most profuse expenditure might render necessary: he could create offices, augment salaries, grant pensions, form the most extravagant contracts, and buy seats in parliament by wholesale: he could send out the most disastrous expeditions, like that of Walcheren, without fears for the result; he could subsidise foreign potentates to any amount, and organise coalitions to any extent; nay, he could send the whole military force of England into Spain, and provision it from this country.

No one suffered materially from this change but those who were living on fixed incomes or the interest of money, and laborers, whose wages never rise in proportion to the depreciation of the currency: but as the bill took from the least productive classes what it gave to those who employed it in reproduction, the consequence was, that agriculture received a powerful impulse, immense tracts of waste land were brought into cultivation, and every new species of husbandry was introduced; for landowners joined with their tenants in improvements, when they found rents rising at the expiration of leases. Owing to this general influx of money, trade also flourished to an unexampled extent; great national works were undertaken for the employment of capital; and prosperity every where

appeared in spite of long and expensive wars, which never were known to create prosperity before: besides, the population, naturally accommodating itself to the large addition thus made to the productive capital and the demand for labor, became proportionally augmented.

The multitude were astonished at these phenomena; but a few discerning persons saw how delusive were the appearances of national prosperity, which, in fact, concealed a robbery committed on a large portion of the community: they foresaw the ruinous habits of profligacy and expenditure which would thence be introduced into all stages of society, and the general distress which would ensue at the end of the war, when the circulating medium must necessarily be contracted, and the enormous debts, which war had occasioned, came to be paid in that contracted currency: they foresaw also the vast advantages which monied men would thereby gain over the ancient aristocracy of the country; as well as that irritation which all the suffering classes in the community would feel, and which would necessarily urge them to make violent changes in the constitution, with a hope of discovering a remedy for their distress. The first great change of our national currency, which benefited the creditor at the expense of the debtor, may be said to have created that magnificent but deceptive prosperity, which overthrew Napoleon: the second change, which took from the debtor what it gave to the creditor, and from the productive classes what it gave to the non-productive, being too rapidly executed, and without any respect to an equitable adjustment, has altered, and may possibly overthrow, the British constitution.

The alarm caused by the stoppage of cash payments at the Bank was not much abated before another cause of anxiety arose from the mutinous spirit which broke out among the sailors, on account of their inadequate pay, as well as the quantity and quality of their provisions. Signs of this discontent first appeared at Spithead, when lord Bridport received orders from government to sail with the channel fleet; for instead of obeying the signal to prepare for sea, the crew of the admiral's ship ran up the shrouds, and gave three cheers; which, being answered by the other vessels, manifested a complete combination. The mutineers appointed delegates, who, in a petition to admiral lord Howe, stated that as long as a redress of grievances was refused to them, they would not quit their station, 'unless the enemy was known to be at sea.' Through the meritorious exertions of that excellent officer, who

was as much respected by the government as beloved by the seamen, their reasonable demands were granted; and it was supposed that all cause of dissatisfaction was removed: but when lord Bridport made the signal for weighing anchor, every ship refused to obey, from a groundless apprehension that government had deceived them, and did not mean to fulfil its engagement: a meeting therefore of delegates was again called, to be held on board the London; but vice-admiral Colpoys being determined to prevent so illegal an assembly, ordered his marines to fire on the advancing boats; when five seamen were killed. Irritated by this act, the crew of the London rose on their commander, and confined him, as well as the captain of the ship, for several hours in separate cabins; and in this state the sailors at Portsmouth remained till the fourteenth of May, when lord Howe arrived with plenary powers from the admiralty, as well as an act of parliament, granting additional pay to the seamen, and his majesty's proclamation of pardon. The flag of insurrection was then struck, and the public saw with great satisfaction the extinction of this dangerous mutiny: another, however, sprang up in a different quarter, which was calculated to convert that satisfaction into the most serious alarm and consternation.

The grievances of which the sailors complained ought never to have existed; but it was one of the minister's faults, and it adhered strongly to his school of politicians, not to correct an abuse, till the evil rose to such a height, that correction could no longer be safely deferred: with all that knowledge of political machinery, that insight into causes and effects, and that union of transcendent faculties which distinguished Mr. Pitt, he did not possess a keen sense of justice towards individuals; neither did he feel for private losses, or the grievances of particular bodies of men, so long as the wheels of government ran smoothly on, and the system which he set in motion was not deranged. Owing to this defect in the character of the minister, it happened, that the concessions to the seamen were extorted, instead of being voluntarily granted; and the same method lay open to their ulterior claims. The crews of the North-Sea fleet, as well as of the ships at the Nore, imitating the conduct of those at Spithead, but exceeding them in the extent of their demands, appointed a committee of delegates from each vessel, and chose Richard Parker, a man of strong abilities and resolute character, to be its president. The claims of these mutineers comprehended greater liberty of absence from ships in harbor, a more just distribution of prize-money, a more

punctual discharge of arrears of pay, with several other privileges and exemptions, which were considered inconsistent with the subordination of the navy and the objects of its service.

On the twenty-third of May, the red flag, the symbol of mutiny, was hoisted on board admiral Buckner's flag-ship, the *Sandwich*, whither each man of war sent two delegates; a committee of instruction, consisting of twelve members, being appointed in every ship: the delegates went on shore daily; and after holding their meetings, paraded the streets and ramparts of the garrison with flags and music. At length, lord Keith and Sir Charles Grey were despatched from the admiralty to Sheerness; when it was intimated to the refractory seamen, that as their demands were inconsistent with the good order and regulations necessary to the service, they could not be complied with: but the behavior of the delegates was so audacious, that the commissioners returned to town without producing the least effect on the mutineers; the more desperate of whom suggested the idea of carrying the ships into an enemy's port: the majority, however, revolted at so unpatriotic an act, alleging that a redress of grievances was their only object; and for the purpose of obtaining this, they proceeded to block up the Thames, by mooring four of their vessels across the river, and refusing a passage to the London trade: besides, to supply their present wants, they took from a trading vessel 300 sacks of flour, which they distributed to the different crews.

On the fourth of June, the whole fleet celebrated the king's birthday by a royal salute; and on the sixth, they were joined by four ships of the line from admiral Duncan's squadron; which accession of strength swelled the rebellious fleet to twenty-four sail, consisting of eleven ships of the line and thirteen frigates. Government, in the mean time, was not inattentive to the perilous state of the country; and his majesty's pardon was in the first instance proclaimed to all such mutineers as should immediately return to their duty: this was speedily followed by two acts of parliament, for more effectually restraining the intercourse between the revolted crews and the shore, and for punishing with extreme severity any attempt to seduce seamen or soldiers into mutinous conduct. Besides, all the buoys, at the mouth of the Thames, as well as on the neighboring coasts, were removed;⁴ and furnaces for heating red-hot shot were kept in readiness at Sheerness. While these transactions excited great alarm in the nation, they were

⁴ At the suggestion, it is said, of Mr. Sheridan.

strongly reprobated by the two divisions of the fleet lying at Portsmouth and Plymouth; each of which addressed an exhortation to their fellow-seamen at the Nore, urging them to be content with the indulgences already granted by government, and to return to their duty, without insisting on more concessions than had been demanded by the rest of the navy: these warnings, however, proved ineffectual; and the last attempt at reconciliation by treaty was made through lord Northesk, who had hitherto been kept confined on board his ship, the Monmouth; and whom they engaged to carry, and submit to his majesty, the conditions on which they were willing to surrender the ships: his lordship undertook the commission; but told them plainly, that from its unreasonableness, he could not flatter them with any hope of success: and so it turned out; for the terms, being submitted to the king in council, were instantly rejected. All hopes of accommodation being thus at an end, preparations were made at Sheerness to enforce obedience to the laws: but information being received by the mutineers, that the nation at large highly disapproved their acts, divisions took place among the delegates; and several ships, being reduced to great distress from the want of fresh provisions and water, deserted their colleagues. On the twelfth of June, all but seven hoisted the union flag; and, next morning, five of these ran from the mutineers under protection of the fort. All farther resistance was now useless: after a fruitless attempt to procure a general pardon, the crew of the Sandwich steered her into Sheerness, where about thirty of the delegates were arrested by a piquet guard of soldiers. Parker was tried by a court martial; and, after a patient hearing of three days, was condemned to be hanged; which sentence, after acknowledging its justice, he underwent with great intrepidity, on board the Sandwich, the scene of his usurped authority: many other of the ringleaders also received sentence of death, several of whom were executed; but mercy, either immediately, or at a more distant period, was extended to the rest. Having happily suppressed this insurrection of the sailors, government turned its attention to the army; which also, with reason, complained of the insufficiency of its pay: an augmentation was accordingly made, by which every soldier was to receive a shilling per day.

Great agitation prevailed at this time in Ireland, which was attributed by ministers to the dissemination of jacobinical principles; and by their antagonists to an arbitrary, coercive,

and unconstitutional system of government, which had been adopted since the recall of earl Fitzwilliam. In such a state of things, earl Moira moved an address, praying that his majesty would interfere to allay Irish discontents : but this was resisted, as an improper encroachment on the authority of the Irish parliament ; and as tending to render the people disaffected toward their own legislature and government, whose conduct was conducive to their welfare. Motions of the same kind were made in the house of commons, and rejected on the same grounds. In supporting their respective propositions, lord Moira and Mr. Fox strongly reprobated the system of terror carried on in Ireland ; describing the different bodies of men whom it tended to alienate from government, particularly the presbyterians in the north, and the catholics in the south : their arguments, however, had no effect on administration, which continued to support a system, styled by its approvers firmness, and by its opponents tyranny.

As ministers had declined in popularity since the failure of lord Malmesbury's negociation, and many petitions had been sent to the king for their dismissal, the opposition thought this a good opportunity of proposing addresses in both houses to his majesty, praying that they might be removed from his counsels. The grounds of attack and defence were the same as had frequently been discussed ; including both the commencement and continuation of the war, its conduct and results, the financial system, the enormous increase of debt and taxes, the distresses of the country, and the failure of pacific negociations : the motions, however, were rejected by large majorities. Mr. Grey again brought forward a scheme for parliamentary reform more definite and explicit than usual ; proposing that the number of county members should be increased from 92 to 113, eligible, not only by freeholders, but by copy and leaseholders ; the remaining 400 members to be chosen by householders : a motion was also made in the house of peers, for an inquiry into the state of the nation ; but effectually opposed by ministers, as intended to produce a change of system, which they affirmed would be ruinous to the nation. On the eighteenth of May, Charlotte Matilda, the princess royal, a young lady of great beauty, talent, and accomplishments, was married to Frederic William, hereditary prince of Wurtemberg ; to whom parliament assigned a sum of £80,000 as her dowry. The session ended on the twentieth of July, having lasted between nine and ten months.

Early this year, the French menaces of invasion evaporated

in a contemptible expedition, which disembarked about 1500 men, mostly criminals and vagabonds attired as French troops, but without any artillery, in Cardigan-bay. The Welsh peasantry, animated by the gentry, and armed with scythes, sickles, and pitchforks, marched forth to meet these invaders; but lord Cawdor had assembled, in the course of a single day, a mixed force of 700 militia, fencibles, and yeomanry cavalry; to whom the French commander, after a short negociation, capitulated on the twenty-sixth of February; while the two frigates which accompanied the expedition were captured on their return to Brest. In other quarters, however, preparations were made on a more formidable scale.

The republic, having now at its disposal the fleets of Holland and Spain, proposed to its confederates, that the greater part of the Spanish navy should sail in the early part of the year to Brest; and then, accompanied by the French ships of war in that port, should form a junction with the Dutch fleet: after this, it was intended that the whole armada should bear down on the coast of England; and by humbling the lofty pretensions of her naval power, pave the way to her ultimate subjugation. To frustrate this design, Sir John Jervis was ordered to blockade the port of Cadiz, and admiral Duncan sent to watch the movements of the Dutch in the Texel. Early in February, commodore Nelson, sailing through the straits of Gibraltar, fell in with the Spanish fleet, under Don Joseph de Cordova; and on the thirteenth, he communicated this intelligence to Sir John Jervis, who, knowing his worth, transferred him to the Captain, of seventy-four guns. Before sunset, the signal was made to prepare for action, and to keep in close order during the night: at dawn of day on the fourteenth, the enemy was descried off Cape St. Vincent; but the weather being very hazy, it was not till ten o'clock that his force was discovered to consist of twenty-seven sail of the line, of which one was a four-decker, six were three-deckers, and two eighty-fours. The commander of this formidable fleet had learned from an American, that the English admiral had only nine ships; which was really the case, when his informer had seen them; for a reinforcement of five ships, under admiral Parker, had not then joined, and the Culloden had parted company: the Spaniard, therefore, instead of going into Cadiz, as was his intention when he left Carthagená, determined to seek an enemy so inferior in force; and he found him to his cost; though even when reinforced, the British admiral had only fifteen ships of the line, of which the largest were two of 100 guns,

two of ninety-eight, and two of ninety; while the Spanish frigates were in the proportion of ten to four. When the day cleared, the enemy's ships were much scattered, while the British were in a compact body; and before the Spaniards could form a regular order of battle, Sir John Jervis, by carrying a press of sail, passed through their fleet; and then tacking, cut off nine ships: these attempted to form on the larboard tack, with a design to pass either through the British line, or to leeward of it, and rejoin their comrades: only one, however, succeeded; the rest meeting so warm a reception, that they put about, and took to flight, leaving the British commander at liberty to attack the main body of the enemy, which was still greatly superior to his fleet, especially in weight of metal: he made the signal to tack in succession; but Nelson, whose station was in the rear of the line, perceived that the Spaniards were bearing up before the wind, with an intention of forming their line, going large, and joining their separated ships; or else of getting off without a battle: to prevent either of these schemes, he hesitated not to disobey the signal, and wore; by which means, he came at once into action with the enemy's four-decker, *Santissima Trinidad*, the *San Joseph*, and *Salvador*, of 112 guns each, another first-rate, and two seventy-fours.⁵ Captain Trowbridge, in the *Culloden*, joined, and nobly supported him; and for nearly two hours did they sustain, what Nelson called, 'this apparently, but not really unequal contest.' The *Blenheim* then passing between them and their enemies, gave them a respite; the *Salvador* and *San Isidro* dropped astern; and were exposed to so tremendous a fire from the *Excellent*, captain Collingwood, that the *San Isidro* struck her colors to that ship, which instantly pushed on with all sail set to aid Nelson, who was then exposed to the fire of five ships, the *Blenheim* being ahead, and the *Culloden* astern in a crippled state: about this time, as the *San Nicolas* luffed up, after a terrible broadside from the *Excellent*, the *San Joseph* fell aboard her, and Nelson resumed his place alongside those two ships; but his own was so cut up, as to be totally useless in the line or chase: under these circumstances, he ordered out the boarders; when Commander Berry, who had lately been Nelson's first lieutenant, gallantly led the way, by leaping into the enemy's mizen chains, and was supported from the spritsail yard, which locked in the *San Nicolas*'s rigging. Miller, when in the very act of going, was

⁵ Southey's Life of Nelson.

ordered by Nelson to remain. A soldier of the sixty-ninth, having broken the window of the upper quarter-gallery, jumped in, followed by the commodore himself, and the others as fast as possible: the cabin was locked, and the Spanish officers fired their pistols at them through the windows; but the doors were soon forced; they pushed on, and found Berry in possession of the poop: the ship was now their own; when a sharp fire of pistols and musketry opened on them from the stern-gallery of the *San Joseph*. Nelson having then placed sentinels at the different ladders, ordered captain Miller to send more men into the prize, from which he determined to board the *San Joseph*. 'Westminster-abbey, or victory!' was his exclamation, as he led the way, assisted into the enemy's main chains by his gallant friend, Berry; but at that moment, an officer, leaning over the quarter-deck rail, said they surrendered. Nelson was soon on the quarter-deck, when the Spanish captain presented to him his sword, observing, that the admiral was below, dying of his wounds. In this action, the Captain had twenty-four men killed, and fifty-six wounded; a fourth part of the loss sustained by the whole squadron.

The Spaniards had still near twenty ships, which had suffered little or no injury: that part of the fleet also, which had been separated from the main body in the morning, was now coming up, and Sir John Jervis made a signal to bring to; for his ships could not have formed without abandoning their prizes, and running to leeward; while the Captain, and several other vessels, were so shattered, as to be wholly unmanageable. The Spaniards, however, would not venture to face the British force in close conflict; but retreated, leaving four vessels, one of 112 guns, one eighty-four, and two seventy-fours, to their captors.

Intelligence of this well-timed victory, by which the plan of three allied powers was so signally disconcerted, occasioned great joy throughout the nation: the fleet was honored with the thanks of both houses of parliament; the king conferred the title of earl St. Vincent, with a pension of £3000 a year, on the admiral-in-chief; vice-admiral Thompson and rear-admiral Parker were made baronets; commodore Nelson was invested with the order of the Bath; captain Robert Calder was knighted; gold medals and chains were presented to all the captains; and the gallant Berry was made post.⁶ It is

⁶ Without any interest, and solely by his own merit, he rose

worthy of remark, that this victory, the smallest in extent, but the most bravely gained of any during the war, was due to the prompt and daring conduct of Nelson: yet Sir John Jervis was made an earl; while Nelson himself, after clearing the sea of all the navies in Europe that were opposed to England, died a viscount.⁷

Nelson, now a rear-admiral of the blue, was employed by his noble commander in the blockade of Cadiz, which he bombarded on the twenty-third of June and the fifth of July, but without much effect: the vanquished fleet, however, was watched so closely, that not a ship dare venture beyond reach of the batteries erected for its defence. He then sailed, at the head of an expedition, against Teneriffe, owing to a report that the viceroy of Mexico had arrived there with the treasure ships: but, as this was unfounded, the scheme was given up: a homeward-bound Manilla ship, however, put into Santa Cruz at this time; which occasioned an expedition of four ships of the line and three frigates to be sent, under the same energetic commander, against that island; but, unfortunately, no troops were embarked. In a dark night, on the twenty-fourth of July, the Fox cutter, having 180 men aboard, and the boats of the squadron, containing about 800 seamen and marines, and headed by Nelson, pushed forward in six divisions for the mole: most of them, however, missed it, and went on shore through a raging surf. The admiral's boat, with those of captains Freemantle, Thompson, Bowen, and four or five others, found the mole, stormed, and carried it, though de-

from the situation of mate, to this high rank, in two years and a half. With a keen insight into character, he saw that Nelson was opening a road to glory and renown for the British navy: he determined therefore to attach himself to that commander, and by dint of zealous exertions he procured the appointment of first lieutenant on board his ship in the Mediterranean; where he distinguished himself by innumerable enterprises. Sir John Jervis was so struck with his merit, that he earnestly strove to retain him on board his own flag-ship when he was going out; but finding him bent on pursuing his destination, he observed, as Mr. Berry left the Victory, 'There goes the best first-lieutenant in the British service.' No officer served so much with Nelson, and no one secured so completely his regard; for, like his noble commander, he was always foremost where honor was to be gained. In the action above described, Nelson enthusiastically spoke of his exertions as almost superhuman.

⁷ This, as Mr. Southey justly observes, 'was not to the honor of those by whom titles were then conferred.'

fended by about 500 men, and then spiked its guns; but Nelson, in the act of stepping on shore, received a shot through the elbow, which occasioned the loss of his arm. So heavy a fire of grape and musketry was now kept up from the citadel and houses at the head of the mole, that the assailants, unable to advance, were nearly all killed or wounded: they then prepared to retreat; but had the misfortune to find all their boats destroyed by the surge on the beach, while a general shriek was heard from the crew of the Fox, which had received a shot under water, and instantly went down. In this situation, when all the streets were commanded by field-pieces, and several thousands of Spanish troops were approaching on every avenue, they received a summons to surrender: this, however, was disdainfully refused by captain Trowbridge, who, on Nelson's fall, had succeeded to the command; but he declared to the governor, through captain Samuel Hood, whom he had despatched with a flag of truce, that if the Spaniards advanced an inch farther, he was prepared to fire the city, which he would spare on condition of being allowed peaceably to re-embark, with an exchange of prisoners. These terms, after a short interval, were acceded to by the Spanish commander, Don Antonio Gutierrez, who not only sent our men on board in his own boats, but generously supplied them with provisions and wine, and ordered all the British wounded to be received into the hospitals of Santa Cruz. Nelson was deeply impressed with a sense of the governor's humanity, exchanged presents with him, and offered to take charge of his despatches for the Spanish government; by which means he actually became the first messenger to Spain of his own defeat, in which the loss of lives was nearly equal to that in the battle of St. Vincent. A few months before, the Spanish island of Trinidad had capitulated to an expedition of six sail of the line, with troops on board, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercromby and admiral Harvey: but the same commanders made an unsuccessful attempt on Porto Rico, which was found too strong to be carried by a *coup-de-main*.

But the most complete naval action of this year still remains to be described. The Dutch had made vast preparations in the Texel, with a view, as it was supposed, of joining the Brest fleet, and invading Ireland: the presence, however, of admiral Duncan rendered it impracticable for them to come out, without risking an engagement. A violent storm having driven the British fleet to Yarmouth roads about the

autumnal equinox, the Batavian government took that opportunity of ordering their admiral, De Winter, to put to sea, in hopes that he might effect a junction with their allies by eluding the vigilance of his opponent. Apprised, however, by signals from his advanced cruisers, that the Dutch fleet had left the Texel, Duncan set sail on the tenth of October; and reaching the coast of Holland late in the evening, stationed his squadron so as to prevent the enemy from regaining their position: on the eleventh, he descried them ranged in order of battle, on the larboard tack, between Egmont and Camperdown; the land being about nine miles to leeward. His fleet, consisting of sixteen sail, exclusive of frigates, was heavier in metal than that of the enemy; and, to prevent them from approaching nearer to the shore, he determined instantly to break their line, and engage them to leeward: this admirable movement was speedily executed; and about twelve o'clock a close action commenced, in which Duncan's division attacked the van of the enemy, and that of Onslow the rear. The British admiral's ship lay nearly three hours alongside that of De Winter in an obstinate and destructive combat; nor did the latter strike his flag before all his masts fell overboard, and half his crew were killed or wounded: the Dutch vice-admiral yielded to his opponent, admiral Onslow, only when he was reduced to the same condition; and when, about four o'clock, the battle terminated in a decisive victory for the English, almost every Dutch ship was found to be in a disabled state. As our fleet was by this time within five miles of the shore, which was lined with spectators of their country's misfortune, the admiral's chief care was to prevent his ships from being caught on the shallows: this necessary precaution, and the approach of night, obliging him to discontinue the pursuit, saved a remnant of the enemy's fleet: no fewer, however, were taken than eight ships of the line, two of fifty-six guns, and two frigates. This grand victory, in which the Dutch lost, in killed and wounded, near 1500 of their best seamen, completely overturned the maritime projects of France, and showed how vain were all her efforts to humble the British navy. The thanks of parliament greeted the arrival of our seamen: their venerable commander was raised to the peerage by the title of viscount Duncan, of Camperdown, with a pension of £3000 per annum; vice-admiral Onslow was created a baronet, and captains Trollope and Fairfax knights banneret. The king, in consideration of this and the other signal victories that had crowned our fleets, ordered a general thanksgiving throughout

the realm. Accompanied by both houses of parliament, his majesty repaired in solemn procession to St. Pauls on the nineteenth of December, when the colors taken from our enemies were carried before their sovereign by his valiant sailors.

At the commencement of this year, the Austrian general, Alvinzi, reinforced with 50,000 troops, among which were numbers of the best-born youths of Vienna, bearing standards worked by the empress, made a strenuous attempt to recover the fortune of the war; and the pope also raised troops to support him: again, however, he had the temerity to divide his forces, the principal division, under his own command, descending by the old route from the Tyrol, between the Adige and the lake; while the other took a circuit down the Brenta to relieve Mantua. Buonaparte, who had been for some time at Bologna, only hesitated till he was certain of his adversary's plans, and then took up an advantageous central post at Rivoli, on a lofty plain above the Adige, between that river and the alpine Montebaldo: in this strong position Alvinzi attacked him on all sides, but was repulsed, routed, and scattered by the bravery of the French soldiers and the skill of their general. The other division of the Austrian army, under Provera, fought its way to the walls of Mantua; but Wurmser in vain endeavored to form a junction with these important succors by a sortie: he was beaten back; and Provera, being also defeated, laid down his arms. The surrender of Mantua, in February, terminated Buonaparte's first campaign, which has, perhaps, never been surpassed for brilliancy of exploits, if we consider the armies beaten, and the unequal numbers with which the victories were gained.

Not tarrying even to receive the sword of Wurmser, Napoleon headed his legions, which were on their march towards Rome, to chastise the pope for his military demonstrations. At Imola, the Roman forces, exhorted by the priests, made a respectable stand, but were of course routed: when imperial Austria was driven from the field, the sovereign pontiff could have no hope but in submission; and Napoleon, more generous than the directory, who had exhorted him to crush the high priest of superstition, granted him political existence, on the surrender of the Legations and Ancona, with more works of art, and the payment of a contribution.

The French government, aware that another victory would place Austria at its feet, and expecting to obtain this by means of its Italian army, had rejected the pacific overtures of Great Britain: they now despatched Bernadotte with 30,000 troops

to reinforce Buonaparte, while Hoche was sent to supersede Pichegru on the Lower Rhine. Ere the confines of Italy were left, and the Tyrolian Alps passed, it was necessary to secure the neutrality of Venice: this it promised, but found difficult to keep; since the principles of the French were more hostile to aristocracy than to monarchy; and though a large party in the Venetian towns were favorable to the new doctrines, yet the Slavonian troops employed by the government, and the bigoted peasantry, were strongly adverse to them.

Buonaparte crossed the Alps early in March: the archduke Charles was now his opponent; but, as usual, the promised reinforcements had not arrived in time. The principal stand made by the Austrians was on the banks of the Tagliamento, the passage of which, after a sharp action, was forced by the French, who drove back their adversaries, occupying town after town, until in less than three weeks they arrived within twenty-four leagues of Vienna. Here, however, they were destined to stop: jealous of Napoleon's success, or deterred by the dissensions now breaking out in Paris, the directory stayed the progress of the armies of the Rhine, without whose co-operation it would have been imprudent in the Italian army to advance: Buonaparte therefore sent to the archduke proposals of peace; and after some delay, the Austrian court signed a preliminary treaty, or armistice, at Leoben, on the eighteenth of April.

Meantime, an insurrection of the democratic party in the Venetian towns of Brescia and Bergamo had broken out: the senate in its turn raised the mountaineers and anti-revolutionary peasants; and these, feeling themselves authorised by the ruling powers, proceeded to every species of atrocity: the French were not spared; 'Death to Frenchmen!' 'death to jacobins!' being their rallying cries. On Easter Monday, the aristocratic party rose on them at Verona; and, headed by the priests, massacred all they met with, even to the sick in the hospitals: more than 400 Frenchmen are said to have perished; but the knell of Venice itself was now rung. Buonaparte, who had at Leoben meditated and proposed the dismemberment of the Venetian territory, was spared the blame of an unwarranted spoliation; and having announced to the directory that the hour of its ferocious and sanguinary government was come, he brought his cannon up to the edge of the lagoons. The panic-struck senate and pusillanimous doge, terrified by his menaces, passed a decree to dissolve their ancient constitution, and establish a species of municipal demo-

cracy that soon produced tumults, which the French were called in to quell; and then fell Venice in dotage, after a political existence of more than 1000 years. Genoa, a name dearer to liberty, was destined to retain an independent government for a short time longer, under the name of the Ligurian republic.

While the army of Italy was thus immortalising itself, a new convulsion shook the ruling powers in Paris: a considerable reaction in favor of royalty had generally taken place; and the re-elected members of the legislative body, partaking of this sentiment, had formed a very powerful party in the councils against the directory: these being supported by the newly-formed Clichy club, (so called from the street of that name, in which its meetings were held) and headed by Pichegru, aimed at repealing the most violent of the revolutionary laws; to heal, as they said, the wounds of the country, while the directorial party stigmatised their exertions as counter-revolutionary and favorable to royalty: thus it happened that the legislative and executive powers held different opinions; and as the constitution had provided no means for restoring harmony, anarchy became once more the probable result. Buonaparte had long observed the struggle that was going on: all the officers who returned from Paris to the army complained of that spirit of reaction which they had noticed; and he was constantly urged by his correspondents to take a part in public affairs. He despised the directors, whom he accused of weakness, indecision, and want of feeling for the national glory; but as he also knew that he was odious to the majority in the councils, while the Clichy party even demanded his dismissal and arrest; and as he did not think he had yet accomplished enough to attempt the sovereignty, he determined to join for the present that party to which the majority of the nation adhered: he prepared therefore to march on Paris with 25,000 men should affairs take a turn unfavorable to the republic.⁸ Napoleon, says his biographer, viewed the establishment of peace as the close of his military career: repose and inactivity were to him intolerable: he sought to take part in the civil affairs of the republic, and was desirous of becoming one of the five directors, knowing that in such a case he should soon stand alone: the fulfilment of this wish would have prevented the Egyptian expedition; but the directors were not anxious to have him for their colleague: they dissembled, and so did he; each party lavishing assurances of friendship on the other, while they felt the most cordial hatred.

⁸ See De Bourrienne's Memoirs, English edition, vol. i. p. 78.

The directory, however, soon found themselves compelled to appeal to Buonaparte for support: he granted it; sending La Vallette to Paris, with a private cipher, to conduct his correspondence; and Augereau to second, by his military talents, and his love of republican principles, the revolution preparing against the legislative opposition. On the sixteenth of Fructidor, (September 4) the blow was struck: under pretence of a review, troops were brought to the capital, and placed at the disposal of Augereau, who surrounded the Tuilleries, where the councils sat, and arrested the opposition members: the minority in those councils then assembled, and by a decree declared the elections of more than half the departments of France annulled: seventy of the most distinguished deputies among the royalists and constitutionalists, were condemned to transportation; while two of the directors themselves, Carnot and Barthelemi, were included in this proscription by their colleagues. Carnot concealed himself, and escaped; but Pichegru and Barthelemi were transported to Cayenne.

The ruling party, whose reign was thus prolonged for a few years, so abused their power by reviving the revolutionary system, and so offended Buonaparte by their jealousy and ingratitude, endeavoring to set up Augereau to supplant him, and filling his head quarters with spies, that he sent in his resignation: this was a bold stroke of policy; for the directors were soon obliged, as he anticipated, to soothe his resentment, and supplicate him to continue at the head of the army. Then came on the treaty of Campo Formio, which had been delayed at first through the desire of Austria to profit by the royalist faction in the councils, and which was now in danger of being broken off by the rancor and ambition of the directorial government: the hopes of one party had been destroyed by the revolution of Fructidor; the project of the other was counteracted by the decision of Buonaparte.

This personage held something like a court in Italy, waiting till the tardy diplomacy of Austria should consent to accept peace at a disadvantage. At the different stages of victory, he had parcelled out the states of Italy into republics; but time and conquest enlarged his designs together with his ambition; while the subjugation of Venice materially changed the views which had dictated the preliminary treaty of Leoben. By that treaty it had been arranged that Austria, in recompense for the Netherlands, was to receive the Venetian provinces to the Oglio, including Mantua: under present circumstances, Napoleon proposed that the Adige should form its boundary; and

that, instead of Mantua, the hapless state of Venice, which had armed for the sake of Austria, as well as Istria and Dalmatia, should be annexed to its dominions. The transfer was accepted; and Austria by this act showed, that the diplomacy of the old monarchy, was, in the spirit of Machiavelism, not far behind that of the new republic. In return for these possessions, France obtained the Netherlands, and the Greek islands belonging to Venice in the Adriatic; an acknowledgement of the Cisalpine republic;⁹ and an indemnification for the duke of Modena in Breisgau. There were some secret conditions annexed to this treaty; the most important of which were, the acquiescence of Austria in the cession of the left bank of the Rhine to France, from Basle to Andernach, with the city of Mayence; the navigation of the Rhine rendered common to both parties; mutual compensation for all that France might hereafter obtain in the German empire; mutual guarantee against any farther acquisitions by Prussia, after the restoration of its possessions on the left bank of the Rhine; and indemnification in Germany to the several princes or states on that bank, who might be injured. It was also agreed that a congress should be held at Radstadt for settling the peace of the empire.

Thus France remained in possession of Savoy, Nice, Avignon, and Belgium; while she was mistress of Italy and Holland; and could reckon on the dependence of the German empire owing to the cession of the left bank of the Rhine: the republic of Venice disappeared from the number of European states: the German empire, abandoned secretly by Austria as it had before been by Prussia, looked anxiously forward to its fate: the government of the church, and the kingdom of Naples, were tottering to their very foundations: Spain, with all its resources, was wholly in the hands of France; against the power and influence of which country the autocrat of the north was now looked up to as the great continental antagonist. Russia indeed, aggrandised by the Polish partitions, and thus brought geographically nearer to western Europe, was now preparing to take a share in the war of the revolution: from this time the ancient separation between the northern and southern states rapidly disappeared, and gave way to the formation of one political system. Between France and Russia stood Prussia, weakened by an extravagant administration, about to become

⁹ Into which the Transpadane and Cispadane republics had merged.

a neighbor of both those countries, and doubtful to which of them she should attach herself; while the little country of Portugal remained faithful to her old alliance with England, unconscious of the high place she was destined to occupy in the deliverance of Europe. Such was the situation of the continental powers of Europe at this period; and such the change in their respective relations to each other. Great Britain still remained mistress of the ocean; and by extending her colonies and commerce in every quarter of the globe, was augmenting those resources, by which she was enabled to wield the whole force of the continent against the power of France, and finally to overthrow her antagonist.

Left alone in the contest by the retreat of Austria, this country renewed pacific negotiations with France on the first of June; and the city of Lille being fixed on for a conference, lord Malmesbury was again sent thither, although the French minister intimated that a different choice would have been more satisfactory to the republic, as well as more favorable to the conclusion of peace. The project submitted by his lordship to the French commissioners was;—that Spain should cede to Great Britain the colony of Trinidad, and that Holland should relinquish the Cape of Good Hope, as well as Cochin, and all her possessions in Ceylon: in return for these, Great Britain would give up every other settlement taken from France, or her allies: our minister also required that the prince of Orange should be indemnified for the loss of the United Provinces, and of his personal property; and that Portugal should be included in the treaty. To these proposals it was replied, that, previously to entering on the main business, three concessions were requisite: first, that his Britannic majesty should renounce the title of king of France; secondly, that the ships taken and destroyed at Toulon should be restored, or restitution made; and thirdly, that any mortgage which England might have on the Low Countries, in consequence of money lent to the emperor, should be given up. Lord Malmesbury, after various observations on these unexpected claims, undertook to transmit them to his government for consideration; but before he could receive an answer, the French commissioners, on the fifteenth of July, addressed a note to his lordship, stating that their government, unable to detach itself from engagements contracted with its allies, the Batavian republic, and Spain, required, as an indispensable preliminary of negotiation, the consent of his Britannic majesty to the restitution of all the possessions which he held from those

countries, as well as France. This was, in effect, to put an end at once to all negociation; for it proposed cessions on one side, without any compensation on the other; and so lord Malmesbury intimated to the commissioners: but during the pause occasioned by this extraordinary proposition, the crisis and change in the French directory, as above described, took place; which events led to the recall of the French commissioners then at Lille, and the appointment of citizens Treilhard and Bonneir d'Alco to conduct the negociation. Immediately after their first interview with the British minister on the thirteenth of September, he was questioned on the subject of the proposal made by their predecessors, and was farther required to return an explicit answer in the course of the day. Unmoved by this insolent demand, his lordship, on the sixteenth, addressed a note to the French negociators, intimating, that he neither could nor ought to treat, except on the just and honorable principle of reciprocal compensation; and on the same day he was apprised by them of a decree issued by the directory, purporting, that if lord Malmesbury should not have the necessary powers for consenting to all the restitutions which the laws and treaties that bind the French republic render indispensable, he must return within twenty-four hours to his court to obtain them. The obvious answer to this imperious order was a note from his lordship to demand his passports: before he set out, however, another meeting took place; in which he urged every inducement on the French ministers to recall their late unwarrantable proposals; but without effect: he therefore took his departure from Lille on the eighteenth of September.

Whatever may be thought respecting the rupture of the first negociation, as imputable to England or France, the historian may safely give judgment, that the abrupt conclusion of the second arose from the French republic. Its hostility had been strongly inflamed against Great Britain by the events of the present war: irresistibly triumphant over all other enemies, France had experienced the most effectual opposition from this country: resentment therefore and pride equally stimulated her to obtain a superiority in the conflict over England as well as the rest of Europe: republican energy invigorated her immense military force; and recent victory over foreign and domestic foes enabled her government to employ all the national spirit and resources against the only enemy which the dissolution of the confederacy had now left. The inclinations thus excited were kept alive and cherished by her most brilliant and persuasive

orators : England was represented as another Carthage, whose power was founded on the unstable ground of commercial prosperity ; while France, like another Rome, was destined to overthrow it by her military power. Strong indications of this feeling appeared, when the conqueror of Italy arrived in Paris to receive the homage of its citizens : among other spectacles brought out in his honor, was an opera, intitled 'The Fall of Carthage.'¹⁰ Barras, then president, at his public audience, bade the warrior not repose, but undertake the conquest of England ; the name of the army of England was given to a vast assemblage of troops, and the command conferred on Napoleon, who lost no time in surveying the coast, for the purpose of forming an opinion regarding the probability of a successful invasion.¹¹ His keen eye soon perceived that in a voyage to England his own glory would be shipwrecked : but England's dominion was widely extended ; though invulnerable at home, she might still be attacked abroad. He knew well the revolutions of commercial prosperity which had taken place in the world : he knew how that prosperity might still be drawn off from their new possessors through the ancient channels, by any country which should obtain possession of Egypt, and a predominating power in the Levant : his imagination fired at the idea ; and the plan of an Egyptian expedition, before thought of, even amidst his Italian triumphs,¹² became firmly rooted in his mind.

Before the meeting of parliament, the spirit of discontent, which had existed in various parts of Scotland ever since the diffusion of revolutionary doctrines, was brought into alarming action by a general misapprehension of the militia act, which was considered by the ignorant peasants as a kind of press act, compelling the persons drawn to become soldiers : the tumults thence occasioned, rose in many secluded districts, especially in the highlands of Perthshire, to such a height, as to overpower the civil magistrates, and for a time to suspend all

¹⁰ Bourienne, vol. i. p. 122, English edition.

¹¹ At the conclusion of their journey, Bourienne asked him what opinion he had formed ; and the sensible reply of Napoleon is stated to have been as follows :—'It is too great a chance : I will not hazard it : I would not thus sport with the fate of dear France.'—Memoirs, vol. i. p. 127.

¹² 'In the month of August, 1797,' says Bourienne, 'he wrote, that the time was not far distant, when we should see, that to destroy the power of England effectually, it would be necessary to attack Egypt.'—vol. i. p. 127.

regular government. Intelligence of the resistance made by the lowlanders to the act reached these higher latitudes about the beginning of September, and in two days the whole country was a scene of tumult: most of the gentlemen, to preserve their property, yielded to the mandates of the mob, taking oaths and engagements, which were forced on them, to resist the oppression; and this concession to lawless violence had the worst effects. Fortunately, the duke of Athol, then lord-lieutenant of the county, was a man of prudence and resolution: his own seat was in imminent danger; but after calmly expostulating with the rioters, he succeeded in dispersing some, and intimidating others by a powerful show of resistance, until he could procure military aid; by which means he succeeded in capturing the ringleaders, and putting down the insurrection.

On the second of November parliament assembled; and his majesty, in his declaration, announcing the failure of the late negociation, declared that he still retained an ardent desire of terminating the war. When the king's speech came to be taken into consideration by the commons, the opposition benches no longer exhibited their usual occupants: finding all their counsels rejected, and their resistance unavailing, the whole party, with some few exceptions, had resolved to withdraw from the house, and leave their antagonists to pursue their own system of policy without control; alleging that they were weary of attending merely to be outvoted, and reproached by ministerial hirelings as enemies of their country. Under these circumstances, the address on the speech passed both houses without a division: another also was carried, almost unanimously, applauding the conduct of government, and expressing a firm determination to support his majesty to the utmost, and to stand or fall with the religion, laws, and liberties of the country. The nation at large also considered that the concessions offered by Great Britain at Lille were as great as equity required, and that the claims of the French republic were most unreasonable and unjust: consequently a large portion of the people exhibited a renewal of zeal in the prosecution of the war, which was now considered a measure of self-defence; while the secession of opposition from parliament, being disapproved of by numbers, tended to increase the popularity of ministers.

The existing restrictions on cash payments at the Bank were continued by an act of this session; and on the twenty-second of November, the minister, encouraged by the public senti-

ment in his favor, proposed a new financial scheme to parliament. The whole expense of the year amounted to £25,000,000: of this sum £6,500,000 would arise from the unappropriated produce of the sinking fund, exchequer bills, and unmortgaged taxes: of the remaining nineteen millions he proposed to raise seven within the year, in order to prevent that increase of permanent debt from which the enemy anticipated the downfall of our credit: this was to be effected by trebling the assessed taxes, under certain limitations; one of which would prevent any person from being rated higher than a tenth of his income: he did not mean to say that the funding system was exhausted: he merely wished to husband that resource; while his present plan would tend to damp the hopes of the enemy, and show to all Europe that our national resources rose in proportion to the exigences of our situation.

Great opposition was made to this scheme, and Mr. Fox was requested by his constituents to attend in his place for the purpose of attacking it; so ready are the people, as well as their rulers, to throw from their own shoulders every possible burden which they can impose on posterity. Among the animadversions made on this financial plan by Tierney, Sheridan, Curwen, and others, those of Mr. Nicholls, to whom every English historian is indebted for his interesting 'Political Recollections,' were particularly distinguished. 'I oppose the tax,' he said, 'because not necessary: I think the tax not necessary, because I think the continuance of the war not necessary; I think the continuance of the war not necessary, because sincere endeavors have never yet been in vain employed to obtain peace. Why do I say this? because some among his majesty's ministers never can have employed sincere endeavors to obtain peace except they have relinquished those principles on which they involved us in the war; and if I may argue from language held on a former night, when this bill was under consideration, they have not abandoned those principles.' This was said in explanation of the following passage, the tenor of which has been so remarkably fulfilled, and for which the honorable gentleman was called to order by the speaker. 'I recollect the language of the secretary at war,¹³ on a former night; that if peace brought reform, that reform he should consider as revolution. As a loyal subject, the right honorable secretary cannot wish a revolution; and if he thinks reform synonymous with revolution, he cannot wish for that peace,

¹³ Mr. Windham.

which he and all men see must necessarily produce reform. Some of those now in his majesty's cabinet have involved the country in war, not from a dread of the power of France, but from jealousy of the commons of England: they fear that the commons of England may be influenced by the example of France to claim their rights; to claim that no peer should interfere in the election of a member of the house of commons; that every member of this house should sit by the election of a body of the commonalty; and that it should become, what the law has directed it to be, the actual representative of all the commons of England. This is a ground of terror to peers, proprietors of boroughs; and there are some among his majesty's ministers who are infected with this fear.' The honorable member also argued against the imposition of the tax, from the character of the minister to whom the produce was to be entrusted. 'He denied that the chancellor of the exchequer had the abilities necessary to save the country: he had no wish to injure his reputation, or to deny his talents as a debater, for which he possessed sarcasm, sneers, irony, and wit; more especially the skill of multiplying and stringing together his words, so that it was hardly possible to affix a precise meaning to them: to this he joined the happy talent of misrepresenting the arguments of his adversaries, and great dexterity in cheering the pretorian bands around him, who were ready to laugh whenever he gave the signal by a smile: but, had he one of the qualities that constitute a great statesman? was he an able war minister, a skilful financier, or a successful negociator? His very friends acknowledged that he was not an able war minister; and how could they avoid it? Beginning the war with all the powers of Europe on his side, he so conducted it, that every ally had abandoned us or been subdued; while France had been exalted to a power almost beyond the dreams of ambition. View him,' said Mr. Nicholls, 'as a financier: the funding system exhausted by his folly, in supposing there were no limits to the supply afforded by the money-market; a paper money established; taxes on consumption no longer practicable; while recourse is had to a requisition on income, though he himself acknowledges that it will be unequal, and therefore unjust; that it will destroy the employment of the artisan, diminish the present revenue, and by so doing weaken the security of the fundholder. Then what is he as a negociator? he tells you himself that he has three times attempted to make peace; always sincerely, but always unsuccessfully. View him as a statesman, beginning with the autumn of 1789,

when the French king was carried prisoner to Paris. A great statesman would have seen that this was a moment of no little consequence to England: he would have seen that the French government was in a state of dissolution, incapable of resisting any pacific plans of the British minister, and that he might carry into effect many measures beneficial to his country: but what was his conduct? His first measure, in 1790, was a foolish dispute with Spain, ill-conducted and disgracefully terminated; when he might have convinced that country, that the Bourbons being dethroned in France, it was now the interest of Spain to renew her ancient, natural, and national alliance with this country. In the year following, another foolish contest with Russia. In 1792, Austria and Prussia invaded France; yet he neither assisted the invaders, nor conciliated the confidence of the French. In 1793, he engaged in the war; and how has he conducted it? One of his great political measures was to starve France; a measure, which any man of the least reflection must have seen, would, if successful, have produced a famine here. If France was distressed for corn, and this country abounded, it was obvious she would draw grain from hence, by the assistance of the smuggler; while, if both countries wanted corn, England would find France her competitor in every market: but I will rest my opinion of him, as a statesman, on the late negociation; I mean after the fourth of September; after his paltry intrigue to overturn the French government had failed. He knew that Austria would make a separate peace, if this country determined to continue the war; he knew, that in consequence of that peace, France would establish her ascendancy in Italy and the Mediterranean; while Portugal and Germany, as well as Spain and Holland, would stand in awe of her power; he knew the situation of Ireland; he knew that he had exhausted the funding system; that he had been obliged to have recourse to the perilous measure of paper money; that he could no longer lay taxes on consumption, and that he must have recourse to this new method of a requisition on income; yet, knowing all this, he wanted the political wisdom to see that this country ought to make peace in conjunction with Austria; that if this country were the last to relinquish the war, it would make peace on the most disadvantageous terms: but he determined to expose us to all hazards, in hopes of retaining Trinidad, the Cape of Good Hope, and Trincomalee.

‘It has been said by an honorable alderman, that although the bill is odious, those he converses with fear nothing so much

as the removal of the chancellor of the exchequer: possibly this is true: those who profit by the wasteful expenditure of public money, can never find a minister more suited to their wishes. When the chancellor of the exchequer was first advanced to power, it is not surprising that he was then viewed with partiality: we remembered his father's virtues, his talents, his services: we easily believe what we wish; and we were willing to believe that the country would derive much benefit from the son's administration. We had observed, that in the father, the talents of the statesman had been accompanied with the powers of eloquence: we admired the fluency with which the son addressed this house; and from his resemblance to his father in this faculty, we presumed that he resembled him in all the qualities of a statesman. Casual observers did not remark the difference between the father's eloquence and the son's: in the father, political wisdom was the groundwork, eloquence the result; he spoke forcibly, because he had reflected deeply: in the son, the art of talking is the groundwork; and he has never acquired political wisdom.'

Other speakers represented this new scheme of finance as similar in principle to the exactions of Robespierre, and from its retrospective operation more iniquitous: it was said to be a change of system, imposing an immense burden on the people without producing any advantage: the funding system was not exhausted; the difficulty attending great loans, was that of providing the interest: but how could ministers insist on this, when they were imposing so large a sum on the country in one year? The measure would be as oppressive in operation, as it was unjust in principle.

Ministers answered, that the funding system was not abandoned; since only a comparatively small part of the supplies this year were to be raised by the new mode; that assessed taxes, resulting from probable expenditure, were a fair criterion of income; and that the various modifications would prevent the inconveniences apprehended. During the progress of the bill, a clause was introduced by the speaker, to admit voluntary contributions towards the general defence of the country, now menaced with invasion: the sum thus raised amounted to £1,500,000; to which the bank of England contributed £200,000, his majesty £20,000, and the queen £5000. Many were the noble offerings made on this occasion by corporate bodies and private individuals, noted for their ancient possessions or commercial opulence; while the defenders of our shores by sea and land vied with each other in

this honorable contest: nor were the contributions less gratifying which flowed from tradesmen, mechanics, and servants; who thus showed their attachment to a constitution, which guards the fruit of humble industry with as much care and equity as the splendid inheritance of the highest nobility: even children sacrificed the means of gratification or amusement, to show their love for that country which they might be called on to defend in their maturer years.

On the sixteenth of November, this year, died Frederic William II., king of Prussia: he was succeeded by his present majesty, Frederic William III., who introduced considerable reforms into the court and ministry; though no material change took place in the organisation of the state, or its foreign relations. The congress met at Radstadt, on the ninth of December, under melancholy auspices for the empire, which could only be supported by the closest union of Austria and Prussia, whom new projects and new prospects kept asunder; while the surrender of Mayence, with the capture of Ehrenbreitstein, during the negotiations, which lasted till April 1799, showed beforehand the situation of Germany. Among the minor events of diplomacy, it may be mentioned to the credit of Buonaparte, that chiefly through his interference, the marquis de la Fayette and his companions were released from prison at Olmutz, where they had been treated with much rigor by the Austrian government.

CHAP. XLI.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1798.

Redemption of the land-tax—Bill for supplementary militia; armed associations of volunteers—Bill for manning the navy—Duel between Mr. Pitt and Tierney—Second estimate of supplies—Slave trade—Offer of militia regiments to serve in Ireland—Origin, conduct, and close of the Irish rebellion—French attempts on Ireland unsuccessful—Plan of the Egyptian expedition—French attack on Switzerland—Expedition departs from Toulon—Capture of Malta—Arrival at Alexandria—Capture of Grand Cairo—Sir Horatio Nelson appointed to pursue the French fleet, &c.—Manœuvres previous to the battle of the Nile—Defeat of the French fleet—Political effects of this action—Unsuccessful attempt against Ostend—Capture of Minorca—Loss of St. Domingo—Meeting of parliament, and king's speech—General measures—Army, navy, and supplies—Income tax—Treaty with Russia—Mr. Tierney's motion, and Canning's reply—Subsidy voted to the emperor Paul, &c.—New coalition—Joined by Austria—State of Italy—Occupation of Rome by French troops, &c.—Affairs of Naples—Capital occupied by French troops—Flight of the king and queen to Palermo—Consideration of the union with Ireland.

ANOTHER important measure of finance, proposed and carried by Mr. Pitt early this session, was the redemption of the land-tax: its object was to absorb a large portion of stock, and convert a quantity of national debt into a landed security. The annual revenue at this time, proceeding from the tax, amounted to £2,000,000: this it was proposed to sell at twenty years purchase, when the three per cent consols were at fifty, subject to a rise in price, according to the rise of stocks: £40,000,000, the present amount of the land-tax at twenty years purchase, would amount to £80,000,000, three per cent stock, affording an interest of £2,400,000: and leaving an

annual gain to the public of £400,000. The person buying his share of the tax would obtain a landed security of his property, and at a very favorable rate; while £80,000,000 of capital would be advantageously taken out of the market: the purchase was, for simplification, to be made in stock, not in money; and the proprietor of the land was to have the right of pre-emption until the expiration of a certain period. This scheme encountered strong objections from those members of opposition who still continued their attendance in the house: in particular, it was said, that by consenting to vote the land-tax perpetual, parliament would give up one of its greatest checks on the profuse expenditure of the public money: it was also called a scheme to benefit the monied interests at the expense of landed proprietors: nevertheless, it passed by large majorities, although within three years not more than one fourth of the tax was redeemed.

Parliament did not confine itself to financial resources, but took also into consideration other measures of national defence: with this view Mr. Dundas successfully moved for a bill, enabling his majesty to call out a portion of the supplementary militia; and a second was carried to encourage voluntary armed associations, for the protection of the country, which was now considered to be menaced with invasion. No measure, perhaps, ever brought out the national spirit with greater force and alacrity than this; for men of all ranks, all professions, and almost all ages, in every corner of the realm,¹⁴ united to learn the use of arms, in defence of that constitutional freedom, for which their forefathers had fought and bled. It has, however, been justly observed, 'that many candid persons lamented the policy which rejected offers of service from men of the first property, and of high military reputation, who forgot their opposition to the minister of the day in their duty to their king, their country, and themselves:' probably party-spirit was never so high in this kingdom, as at the period of which we are treating; though the ministerialists were so

¹⁴ Many ludicrous circumstances were connected with the formation of such a variety of corps as were at this time inspired with military ardor: and a remarkably sarcastic speech was attributed to Mr. Pitt, in reply to a certain corporation which was anxious to raise a company, under a proviso, that 'they were not on any account to be sent out of the kingdom:'—'Certainly,' said the minister, 'let them be enrolled; and let it be added to their proviso, 'except in case of invasion.''

rapidly augmenting, that they could have well afforded to exercise a little more liberality and conciliation.

A third bill was brought into the house by Mr. Dundas, by which the suspension of the habeas corpus act was revived : the alien bill also was renewed ; and on the twenty-fifth of May, as the danger of invasion appeared to increase from the accumulating preparations on the coast of France, Mr. Pitt proposed a bill for more effectually manning the navy. His chief object was a temporary suspension of the protections of seamen ; and he expressed an earnest wish that the bill should pass through its different stages that day, with a suitable pause at each, if required ; and that it should be sent to the lords for their concurrence. Mr. Tierney thought that an augmentation of the navy might be accomplished in the usual way : the extraordinary manner in which the house had been called on to adopt this measure, could not fail, he said, to create unnecessary alarm : indeed, from all he had lately seen, the measures of ministers appeared hostile to the liberty of the subject. Mr. Pitt warmly replied, ‘that if every measure adopted against the designs of France was to be considered hostile to the liberties of this country, his ideas of liberty differed widely from those of the honorable gentleman : as an announcement of the intended measure would enable those who were the objects of it to elude its operation, to what could the honorable gentleman’s opposition be referred, but to a desire of obstructing the defence of the country ?’ Mr. Tierney then rose, and called his antagonist to order ; on which, the speaker observed, that whatever had a tendency to cast suspicion on the sentiments of a member, was certainly irregular : of this the house would judge from the right honorable gentleman’s explanation. Mr. Pitt, however, replied, that if the house waited for any explanation from him, it would wait a very long time : he knew it was not parliamentary to enter into the motives which actuated members : but it was impossible to adduce arguments in favor of a question, without sometimes hinting at the sentiments which created an opposition to it : he submitted to the judgment of the house the propriety of what he had urged ; but he refused either to retract or explain any of his expressions. Mr. Tierney accordingly left the house, and next morning sent a hostile message to the minister : on Sunday afternoon, May 27, the parties met on Putney-heath ; when two cases of pistols having been discharged without effect, Mr. Pitt fired his last in the air, and the matter was accommodated by the interference of the seconds.

As in the last session, so in this, the chancellor of the exchequer found himself obliged to lay before the house a second estimate of supplies; when he stated that the loan must be £15,000,000 instead of £12,000,000; since the triple assessment, which was calculated to produce £7,000,000, was reduced by various modifications to £4,500,000. The interest of the increased loan and deficiencies he estimated at £763,000, for which he proposed to provide by additional duties on salt, tea, dogs, horses, and carriages; with a tax on armorial bearings: the various duties on houses and windows were at the same time consolidated into one table.

Mr. Wilberforce renewed his motion for the abolition of the slave-trade; but though his proposition was rejected, several regulations were enacted for alleviating the sufferings of the wretched Africans in their passage. Mr. Bryan Edwards, having on this occasion taken part against the abolition, Mr. Canning replied to that gentleman in a speech which exhibited at once the statesman, orator, and philanthropist. A motion made this session in the house of lords, by the duke of Bedford, for an address to the king to dismiss his ministry, was rejected by a large majority.

On the nineteenth of June a message from his majesty announced that various regiments of militia had made a voluntary tender of their services, to be employed in aid of the regular forces in Ireland, for the suppression of the rebellion then raging in that country; and an address was carried in both houses, empowering his majesty to accept such offers; while bills, founded on the message, were passed previously to the prorogation of parliament on the twenty-ninth of June. Though England was thus deprived of about 12,000 of its constitutional defenders, the military ardor which pervaded the nation created so many volunteer associations, that apprehensions either of foreign or domestic foes began daily to decrease.

The great rebellion, to which allusion has been just made, had its origin in the association of united Irishmen, first instituted for obtaining universal suffrage; but afterwards reorganised for the accomplishment of a revolution, and a separation from Great Britain; parliamentary reform and catholic emancipation being used only as delusive veils to cover these insidious designs. There had long been a correspondence kept up between the leaders of this union and the French directory; in consequence of which, the expedition had sailed under the command of Hoche; and a fleet had been fitted out in the Texel,

for the conveyance of another armament; which design was frustrated by admiral Duncan's glorious victory: an agent, however, from the united Irishmen was still resident in Paris; and application was made to the directory for a loan to assist the revolutionists. Happily for Great Britain, the object of these malcontents and that of the French government were not the same: the Irish conspirators were anxious to establish an independent republic; while the French sought to subdue the island, and form it into a government dependent on themselves: they refused therefore to grant the required loan, unless they were permitted to send forces sufficient to effect a conquest of the country; but finding the petitioners averse to this plan of invasion, they began to receive their proposition with coolness, and turned their attention to objects which appeared more important and practicable: meanwhile, the Irish, despairing of any effectual co-operation, prepared for an insurrection without waiting for continental assistance.

Like the French revolution itself, the rebellion in Ireland had its remote and proximate causes; for although that revolution acted as a firebrand on the present occasion, yet combustibles had been prepared for ignition through a long succession of ages. In early times Ireland was considered as little more than a land of barbarians conveniently situated to enrich English adventurers by pillage and confiscation: even after the complete conquest of the country by William III., when the catholics were totally defeated, no anxiety was shown by the British government, or the Irish parliament, to put the nation into a state of amelioration: there were laws indeed for disqualifying papists from holding influential situations; but no care was taken to improve the character, morals, and prosperity of the people, by a rational system of education; by proper commercial regulations, and a national provision for the poor; or by an impartial administration of justice; a proper tenure of land; and a commutation of tithe, where that impost was so odious and difficult of collection: the country therefore naturally continued a prey to ignorance and superstition; and was easily excited to the most outrageous excesses by a bigoted and ambitious priesthood: for although, as Dr. Miller observes,¹⁶ 'the rebellion of 1798 had its origin among the presbyterians, and not among the Roman catholics, who were more anxious for the removal of their own disabilities than for changes of a government in which they did not yet fully

¹⁶ History philosophically considered, vol. iv. p. 502.

participate, as appeared when the French armament arrived in Bantry-bay, and found no military organisation of the catholics; yet when the winds of heaven had dissipated that force, effectual means were employed for enlisting papists in the cause of revolution; and so ardently did the bigotry of popery then engage in the struggle, that it shocked and disgusted the very men, who had united with them for the attainment of a common freedom; and by sending these back into the ranks of loyalty, contributed to effect eventually the deliverance of the country.'

At the commencement of this year a grand effort was resolved on by the united Irish. In the month of February a military commission was appointed by their executive council; and nocturnal assemblies were held in various parts of the kingdom, where the people were trained to arms: the most savage atrocities were committed by the insurgents on those whom they were taught to consider as enemies and interlopers in their domains; while these outrages were severely retaliated by the orangemen and military, whose floggings and half-hangings for the discovery of arms and plots, connived at rather than encouraged by government, fixed in the hearts of the lower orders the most rancorous determination of revenge. At this time, Arthur O'Connor, a member of the pretended directory, repaired to London, with an intention of proceeding to France in company with one Binns, an active member of the London corresponding society, Coigley, an Irish priest, and two attendants of the name of Allen and Leary: these associates, however, were taken into custody at Margate, and after a short confinement in the Tower, were brought to trial under a special commission; when Coigley, on whose person was found an address from the secret committee of England to the executive directory of France, was found guilty, and executed as a traitor; Leary and Allen, against whom no evidence appeared, were acquitted; while O'Connor and Binns were detained on another charge of high treason. Such, however, was the secrecy maintained by the chief conspirators, that although the plot was disclosed, the names of the traitors remained unknown: at length, one Reynolds, colonel of a regiment of united Irishmen, conscious of the atrocities meditated, and struck with remorse for his concurrence in them, laid open the whole to government; and on his information, thirteen members of the provincial committee of Leinster, with other principals in the conspiracy, were arrested. Among these, were Emmet, a protestant barrister of considerable talent; and

Dr. M'Niven, chairman of the catholic committee. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother of the duke of Leinster, made his escape, and remained for several weeks concealed in Dublin, though a reward of £1000 was offered for his apprehension: but he was discovered on the nineteenth of May; when justice Swan was wounded dangerously, and captain Ryan mortally, in their efforts to arrest him: he himself, however, received a fatal shot in the shoulder, of which he languished till the third of June, and died in extreme agony. The vacancies created by these arrests were speedily filled up, but with men much less qualified for the arduous task of upsetting an established government. Among the members of the new directory, were two brothers, John and Henry Sheares, into whose confidence captain Armstrong, a government agent, contrived to insinuate himself by a great show of zeal in their cause, and from them he learned that a general rising was intended on the twenty-third of May; the plan proposed being to seize simultaneously on the camp of Loughlin's-town, the artillery at Chapelizod, and the castle of Dublin: on the twenty-first, however, these two Sheares, with some other leaders of the conspiracy, were arrested; the city and county of Dublin were declared in a state of insurrection; the guards at the castle, and at all other grand objects of attack, were trebled; and the whole city was converted into a garrison. Among other precautions taken by government, was the augmentation of the yeomanry corps, which were mostly cavalry: in six months after their first establishment in 1796, they had amounted to 37,000 men; and during the rebellion, this useful force was increased to 50,000. Of the means accumulated by the insurgents some notion may be formed from a paper given to Reynolds, the informer, by lord Edward Fitzgerald, purporting to be a return made by a national committee on the twenty-sixth of February; from which it appeared that the number of armed men in Ulster, Munster, and Leinster, amounted to 269,896; and that the sum of £1485 was in the hands of their treasurer. Another return, made by an assembly of colonels on the twenty-eighth of March, gave the proportion of one to three in their favor, even among the king's troops; while the insurgents were stated to be in sufficient force to disarm all the military within their own counties.

On the twenty-ninth of April, Sir Ralph Abercromby, commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland, who had made a tour through the provinces, and observed the excesses committed by the military, notified in general orders, 'that the irregularities

of the troops in Ireland had unfortunately proved the army to be in a state of licentiousness, which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy.' Having also failed of success in impressing the minds of those in power with his own ideas, that coercive measures to the extent resolved on were not necessary, he resigned his command on the twenty-ninth of April, and was succeeded by general Lake. In the month of March, orders were issued by the lord-lieutenant, for the army to march into the disturbed districts; and a manifesto was published on the third of May at head-quarters, in Kildare, requiring the inhabitants to surrender their arms within the period of ten days, under penalty of supporting large bodies of troops at free quarters; while rewards were promised for the discovery of weapons, and extreme severity was denounced against those counties which should continue in a disturbed state. The rebel chiefs, however, had decided on a contest; and the twenty-third of May was appointed for a general insurrection: the command of their forces, after the capture of lord Edward Fitzgerald, devolved on Samuel Neilson, who planned a simultaneous attack on Newgate, for the purpose of rescuing his lordship; and on the castle, to secure the principal members of government; for which purpose he assembled fifteen insurgent colonels on the night of the twenty-second, and assigned to them their respective posts: nor was the plan confined to the metropolis; for it embraced the whole kingdom; the stoppage of the mail-coaches being appointed as a signal for the general rising. This part of the project was carried into effect; for, on the twenty-third, the Belfast mail was detained and burnt at Santry, the Cork mail at Naas, and that running in the direction of Athlone at Lucan: both the guard and coachman of the Limerick mail were barbarously murdered near the Curragh of Kildare, and the coach destroyed. Early in the morning of the twenty-third, all the yeomen in Dublin, and the small garrison of that city, were ordered by general Lake to repair to their respective posts; while the lord mayor placed the Cork militia, with two field-pieces, at the north side of St. Stephen's green. The north and south sides of Dublin being protected by the royal canal, and the grand canal, each fifty feet broad and eight deep, and the bridges being occupied by the military, almost all communication was cut off between the city and the insurgents: still a disaffected body of about 3000 men had entered on the evening of the twenty-third; and numerous armed rebels had assembled in the suburbs, and were advancing with an intention to rush in

and join their confederates, as soon as these latter had taken possession of the castle. At this crisis, Neilson, the rebel chieftain, was apprehended in the street by one Greig, after a desperate struggle, and lodged in prison; when several thousands of rebels, who were lurking in lanes and by-places, and waiting for the signal of assassination, dispersed in various directions. During the night of the twenty-third, and several days following, skirmishes were fought in the adjacent counties, and attacks were made on Naas, Clane, Ballymore, and other towns: but these feeble unconnected efforts were not seconded by any general insurrection; for Ulster, in which province 10,000 united Irishmen were said to have been enrolled, declined the contest on account of the unpromising aspect of affairs; and the rebellion resembled rather the capricious movements of a mob, than the united efforts of a national force. Martial law, however, was now proclaimed by the lord-lieutenant, against all persons abetting the rebels; and an opportunity soon occurred of putting it into execution; for, on the twenty-fifth, the garrison of Carlow, consisting of 450 men under colonel Mahon, was assailed by a body of about 1500 insurgents. On their advance into the town, they were received with so destructive a fire, that they recoiled, and took refuge in houses; many of which being set on fire by the soldiers, the wretched inmates perished in the flames: not an individual of the garrison was even wounded; but no less than 500 of the assailants fell; and after the defeat, about 200 were either hanged or shot: among the latter, was Sir Edward Crosbie, before whose house the rebel column had assembled previous to their attack: he was a gentleman of an amiable disposition; but being accustomed to express great pity for the distresses of the Irish peasantry, and to declare himself a zealous friend of parliamentary reform, he was on that account considered as a republican by the zealous loyalists, and the mode of conducting his trial was not of the fairest kind:¹⁷ he was soon convicted, and executed with equal precipitation, at an unusual hour; after which, his head was cut off, and fixed on a pike.

As a minute detail of the various engagements which ensued would far exceed the limits of this history, the chief agents, operations, and results only can be attended to. The rebels, fighting with undisciplined courage, were frequently

¹⁷ Catholic prisoners, it is said, were tortured to give evidence against him, and loyal protestants prevented by the bayonets of the soldiers from coming forward in his favor.

victorious over smaller numbers ; but, inflamed by their bigoted priests, they exercised, wherever they prevailed, a ferocity exceeding that of the most savage tribes : the regular soldiers, on the side of the royalists, were not numerous ; but the Irish militia and yeomanry fought with distinguished fidelity and valor : several regiments also of English militia were permitted, by an act of parliament, at their own instance, to cross the channel ; and were very instrumental in supporting the cause of government.

On the night of the twenty-sixth of May, the standard of rebellion was unfurled between Gorey and Wexford, when father John Murphy, a Romish priest, placed himself at the head of the insurgents ; two large bodies of whom were collected on the following Sunday ; one on the hill of Oulart ; the other, amounting to near 3000, on that of Kilthomas, under another priest, named Michael Murphy : these latter were attacked and defeated, with considerable slaughter, by about 300 yeomen, who advanced intrepidly up the hill : but the victors tarnished their laurels by burning two Romish chapels, with about 200 cabins and farm-houses belonging to people of that faith : on the same day, an action was fought, with a very different result, on the hill of Oulart ; where the rebels, finding their retreat cut off, attacked their opponents with so successful an impetuosity, that a whole picked detachment, consisting of 110 men from the Cork militia, were slain, except the colonel and four privates ; while the loss of the rebels did not exceed three killed and six wounded. Father John, flushed with victory, then advanced with a corps, increased to 7000, against Enniscorthy ; the garrison of which place, after a contest of about three hours, was obliged to evacuate the place, and retreat.

The next position of the insurgents was at Vinegar-hill, in that neighborhood : and on the twenty-ninth, John Henry Colclough, Edward Fitzgerald, and Bagnal Harvey, who had been previously committed to prison, on suspicion, by the loyalists, were sent, though ineffectually, to prevail on them to disperse. Fitzgerald was detained in the rebel camp ; and so prompt were their movements, that before evening, on the same day, their advanced guard was pushed on to Three Rocks, about three miles from Wexford ; the inhabitants of which city were thrown into the utmost consternation at their approach : the shops were all shut up ; multitudes repaired for refuge on board the ships in harbor ; and many sought security in flight. The military in Wexford at this time

amounted to about 1200 men, while their opponents equalled 15,000 ; but it was announced that general Fawcett was on his march from the fort of Duncannon ; and a strong reinforcement might hourly be expected : but that commander arriving by night at Taghmon, pushed forward, on the morning of the thirtieth, a small detachment, which was wholly out off ; after which, he made a retreat unknown to the garrison ; and when colonel Maxwell, supposing that the general would be able to take the rebels in the rear while he attacked them in front, sallied forth from the town next morning, he was unable to cope with his antagonists. On the return of the troops, a council of war was hastily assembled ; and the result was, that the garrison retired, and the insurgents poured by thousands into the city, with horrid shouts of exultation : they were in the most disorderly state ; their arms consisted chiefly of pikes with handles sixteen or eighteen feet long, scythes, hay-knives, old bayonets fixed on poles, and rusty muskets. They first proceeded to the prison ; and having liberated Bagnal Harvey, insisted that he should become their commander : the inhabitants endeavored in vain to appease them by a profuse hospitality ; and after various scenes of plunder and disorder, parties were despatched in boats to bring on shore all the men, arms, and ammunition they could find on board the vessels in harbor ; when every one that was recognised as obnoxious to the rebels, and many in mere wantonness, were pierced with pikes by these sanguinary wretches on the beach. The night of the thirtieth passed in comparative tranquillity ; but early on the thirty-first, the streets were again crowded, scenes of plunder recommenced, and the prisons were filled with persons obnoxious to the rebels. At length, the insurgent forces were induced to move out of the town, and encamp in two bodies on Windmill-hill ; but a kind of commission was still left to supply the camps, issue proclamations, and select unfortunate protestants for execution. The numbers of these latter increased in proportion to the reverses of the rebel army ; and the general mode of putting them to death was as follows : —at a certain period of the day they were taken out of the prisons, and led in companies of ten or twenty to the new bridge, preceded by black flags, with ruthless pikemen as guards, and assailed by insults and execrations from the mob. A few were then shot ; but generally two rebels stood before and two behind each victim, into whom having thrust their pikes, they held him suspended in the air and writhing with torture till he expired ; when they threw his body into the

river; and the crowd, who were mostly females, expressed their savage joy with loud huzzas. One woman, the wife of Dixon, a rebel captain,¹⁸ particularly distinguished herself: she prevented the prisoners from being shot in prison, in order, as she said, 'that the people might have the pleasure of seeing them die;'¹⁹ and, stepping over the ground at the place of execution, with her riding-dress pulled up, lest it should be stained with blood, she exclaimed to the executioners,—'Spare your ammunition, boys; and use your pikes.'

Such were the transactions in the southern part of the county. In the north, after the rebels had been repulsed at Gorey, and defeated with great slaughter at Newtonbarry, they routed a large detachment under colonel Walpole; and obliged the royal troops, under general Loftus, weakened by that loss, to retreat to Carnew; by which means, an immense tract of country was left at their mercy.

A large division under Bagnal Harvey advanced to the south-west, for the purpose of attacking New Ross, and opening a communication with the counties of Waterford and Kilkenny. Having encamped on Carrickburn-mountain, they advanced on the fourth of June to Corbet-hill; and early on the fifth, prepared for the assault, being armed, some with muskets, but most with pikes; having also a few pieces of cannon: as they moved on, a number of priests in canonical vestments, and holding crucifixes in their hands, went through the ranks, to animate them with religious enthusiasm for the combat. Urged by such motives, and inflamed by intoxication, a large column drove in the outposts, forced back the cavalry on the infantry, and seized the artillery, after driving the royal troops to the bridge on the other side of the river: general Johnson, however, who commanded this garrison, having rallied his men, with great energy and skill recovered the post, and drove the rebels into the suburbs, which had been fired by their adherents. Rallied by their chiefs, they returned with fury to the assault, and regained the same ground; but at last they were finally defeated, after an engagement of nine hours' continuance, and with a loss of near 2000 men. On the royal side about 300 fell, among whom was lord Mountjoy, colonel of the Dublin militia. On the day of this battle, one of the

¹⁸ The master of a trading vessel, and the inhuman wretch who brought his miserable cargo of fugitives to land again, when they had paid an immense price for their passage to Wales.

¹⁹ C. Jackson's *Sufferings and Escape*, p. 26.

most atrocious acts which distinguished this unhappy period was committed: though many helpless protestants had been put to death by roving parties of rebels, yet a greater number were taken and placed in confinement for future purposes: about 200 of these, men, women, and children, were shut up in a barn at Scullabogue, near Carrickburn-mountain, and left in charge of one Murphy, a rebel captain. During the engagement, when their party began to give way, an order was sent to put all those unfortunate prisoners to death: Murphy twice resisted its execution, until given to understand that it came from the priesthood, and his men became outrageous to begin the bloody work: in the first instance, thirty-seven protestants were shot or piked outside the barn; the rest, in number 184, were burnt alive within the building, which was set on fire by bundles of lighted straw. Struck with horror at this atrocious deed, and having lost his authority on account of his religious creed, Bagnal Harvey resigned his command, and returned to Wexford; when the rebels chose for his successor a priest named Philip Roche, who had gained a victory near Clough; a man, whose lofty stature and boisterous manners rendered him well adapted to govern such an outrageous multitude. After this time, they lay for a considerable period inactive, indulging their appetites for intoxicating liquor.

Fortunately for the country at large, their associates at Gorey continued equally inactive, after the retreat of general Loftus; wasting their time in burning the town of Carnew, trying orangemen, and plundering houses: at length, rousing themselves from this indolence, they advanced, in a body of 27,000 men, against Arklow, under Michael Murphy the priest. The garrison consisted only of 1600; but they were well supplied with artillery, and ably commanded by general Needham; three sides of the town being defended by the military, and the fourth by the river Oraca: the attack, which continued two hours, was fierce, though irregular; and the incessant fire of the troops rendered all their efforts abortive to gain possession of the place. The attack on one quarter was conducted by father Murphy, who used every method to excite superstitious enthusiasm in his followers. When they seemed reluctant to advance, he would take musket-balls out of his pocket, and, throwing them into the air, exclaim, that they had been fired at him by the enemy; but that the balls of heretics could not hurt those who were steadfast in the true faith: at length, he was brought down by a cannon shot; and the rebels, dispirited at his fall, began a retreat towards Gorey, in which it was not

thought prudent to molest them. The issue of this battle prevented them from effecting their scheme of penetrating to Dublin; which might have given a very dangerous turn to the rebellion.

The insurgent army, now under the command of Garret Byrne, having burned the little town of Tinnchely, and put numerous protestants to death as orangemen, next meditated an attack on Hacketstown; but were compelled to abandon that design by the approach of general Lake, and commence a retreat, on the twentieth, to Vinegar-hill: there they established a general dépôt for prisoners, and every morning at parade a number of those unfortunate victims were sacrificed, many of them with the most excruciating torments, for the amusement of the rebels. The plan of general Lake was to surround this position; for which reason, he moved several corps simultaneously from different quarters; generals Dundas, Duff, and Loftus, proceeding from the vicinity of Kilcaven; Eustace and Johnson, from Ross; and Needham, from Arklow and Gorey. General Johnson began the attack on Enniscorthy at seven o'clock in the morning of the twenty-first of June; and his example was followed by the other commanders. The town was soon carried, but the revolvers were enabled to resist for some time the showers of bullets and shells, as well as the advance of the troops, by the strength of their position on the hill: at the end, however, of an hour and a half, they were completely routed, and made their escape through a space, intended to have been occupied by general Needham's corps, which was unable to come up. The immense column that retreated through this opening, which received the name of 'Needham's gap,' now poured into Wexford; but the greater number soon left it, at the instance of Dr. Caulfield, titular bishop of Ferns, who assured them that general Moore was approaching; as was really the case: they, therefore, held a hasty council of war, and marched across the mountains to the county of Kilkenny.

Wexford was then relieved by general Moore's army; the rebels having previously released their prisoner, lord Kingsborough, whose life had been wonderfully preserved by Dr. Caulfield. The body, which had retired into Kilkenny, obtained success for a short time by means of overwhelming numbers; but being at length pursued by general Dunn and Sir Charles Asgill, they were totally defeated on the twenty-sixth of June at Kilcomney-hill; and Murphy their chief, flying from the field of battle, was soon afterwards captured,

and conducted to the head-quarters of general Sir James Duff at Tullow ; where he was hanged the same day, and his head placed on the market-house.

In the south, the spirit of rebellion was now happily approaching its termination : in the north, catholic priests were not so numerous or so active, and the enormities perpetrated were not so atrocious. The insurgents having risen at Antrim, an attack was made on them by a force which general Nugent, commander of the district, despatched for that purpose in the early part of June ; and the rebels were dispossessed of the town, with a loss of about two hundred men ; but not till lord O'Neill, an accomplished nobleman, had been mortally wounded with pikes : being repulsed at Larne, Ballymena, and Ballycastle, the main body retired to Donnegar-hill ; but, hearing of the turn which affairs had taken in Leinster, they dispersed.

About the same time also, an insurrection commenced in the county of Down ; where, after a battle fought near Saintfield, in which about sixty of the royalists fell, their commander, colonel Stapleton, was obliged to retire into Belfast : the insurgents then, assembling from all quarters to the number of 5000, and electing for their general, Henry Muroe, a linen-draper of Lisburn, encountered the royal troops, amounting to 1500 men, under general Nugent, at Ballynahinch, where they at first gained a considerable advantage by desperate valor, but lost it from want of military tactics ; and at length, giving way, took to flight in all directions. Their leader, being captured, was hanged before his own door at Lisburn ; and some dissenting ministers also were executed. There were no catholics in this battle ; for on the preceding night, 2000 deserted their dissenting brethren, and, during the engagement, expressed great satisfaction to see protestants destroying each other. On the suppression of this insurrection in Ulster, another local rising took place in Munster, which was put down without much difficulty.

After the signal defeat of the rebel forces at Vinegar-hill, and their consequent expulsion from the vicinity of Wexford, a considerable number dispersed, and returned to their usual occupations : the more desperate retired to the mountainous parts of Wexford and Wicklow, where for a time they waged a desultory warfare : at length, being perpetually harassed, most of the insurgent chiefs surrendered ; and those who still resisted, might rather be considered as small bands of banditti, than as embodied forces.

Dublin, having escaped the horrors of civil war, now became the chief theatre of public justice, where many of the chief instigators of rebellion were tried and executed: numerous leaders also were condemned to suffer death at Wexford, on the very bridge which had been the scene of so many horrid massacres: among these, were some, to whom mercy, perhaps, would have been properly extended; for instance, Philip Roche, the catholic priest, by whose interference many loyalists had been saved from destruction; and captain Matthew Keogh, a protestant, who made an excellent defence, and for whose acquittal the military officers were very anxious.

In the present perilous condition of Ireland, which was now threatened by a French invasion, the British cabinet thought it expedient to appoint a viceroy who was possessed both of civil and military experience: on which account, earl Camden was recalled; and his successor, the marquis Cornwallis, made his public entrance into Dublin on the twentieth of June. The administration of this nobleman, uniting conciliation and mercy with firmness and caution, was well calculated to quiet the country, prevent the recurrence of such evils, and promote permanent prosperity. On the third of July, a proclamation was issued, authorising his majesty's generals to afford protection to such insurgents, as, having been simply guilty of rebellion, should surrender their arms, and take the oath of allegiance: soon afterwards, an act of amnesty was passed, under certain conditions; and a treaty was entered into between government and the chief conspirators in confinement,¹⁹ who gave, on oath, the most important information respecting the whole confederacy; from which it appeared, that the rebellion originated for the purpose, not of catholic emancipation, but of subverting the constitution, separating Ireland from England, and establishing a republic.

Though the French directory had contemplated the progress of this rebellion with tranquillity; yet, when merely faint sparks of its expiring embers could be discerned, they despatched an expedition of three frigates, containing about 1100 men, under general Humbert, to fan the flame. Having disembarked his forces on the twenty-second of August, in the bay of Killala, that officer established his head-quarters in the bishop's palace; but though a green flag was erected, few of the peasantry were disposed to rally round it. Having left a

¹⁹ Among these were Arthur O'Connor, counsellor Emmett, Dr. M'Nevin, S. Neilson, &c.

small garrison at Killala, under colonel Charost, Humbert marched towards Castlebar, without experiencing any obstacle in his route. The army, collected there under general Lake, consisted of between 2000 and 3000 regulars; and Humbert, relying chiefly for success on his own troops, so posted his Irish levies on the flanks of his column, as to protect it from the British fire: on the twenty-seventh, he attacked the opposing forces, situated on a hill at the north-west extremity of the town, with great impetuosity; and, driving them from their position, made Castlebar the head-quarters of his army. The danger, which was now imminent over the country, determined lord Cornwallis to take the field in person: on his arrival at Athlone, on the twenty-eighth of August, he learned the defeat of general Lake; and, after a halt of two days, proceeded in pursuit of the enemy, who had advanced into the interior of the country: his lordship passed the Shannon at Carrick; and having come up with the French army, he surrounded it with about 20,000 men, and forced it to surrender: the rebel auxiliaries fled in all directions; about 500 of them were slain in the pursuit, and 100 taken prisoners; among whom were their principal chiefs. Troops having been placed in Killala and Ballina, general Trench proceeded against those places; from the latter of which the garrison retreated to Killala, where a battle took place, and the rebels lost about 400 men. Courts-martial were then assembled, which disposed of a considerable number of prisoners: the French officers were sent to Dublin, and from thence to London; where three of their number, Charost, Boudet, and Ponson, were liberated without exchange, on account of the favorable character given of them by the bishop of Killala. The French government assigned the want of money as a reason for not properly seconding this invasion: a brig of war appeared, indeed, on the coast, with arms and ammunition, on board of which was the celebrated Napper Tandy, one of the Irish emissaries to the directory; but finding what was the state of affairs, it returned, without effecting any thing beyond the distribution of certain inflammatory papers. Some time afterwards, Napper Tandy, with two other Irish rebels, was apprehended by the agents of Great Britain at Hamburg, and conveyed to Ireland, where he was indicted for high treason in 1801; but, having pleaded guilty by previous arrangement, he was suffered to quit the kingdom, and reside in France. Another attempt of the French to revive a lost cause was made with no better success: a squadron, consisting of the Hoche line-of-battle ship and eight

frigates, with troops and ammunition on board, was met, on the twelfth of October, off the north-west coast of Ireland, by an English squadron, under Sir John Borlase Warren, who captured the ship of the line, with three of the frigates; and eventually three others fell into our possession. Among the prisoners, taken in the *Hoche*, was T. Wolfe Tone, projector of the society of united Irishmen; who, being put on his trial at Dublin, rested his defence on his being a denizen of France, and an officer in her service; but being condemned to the gallows, and unable to procure a commutation of the sentence, he terminated his existence in prison. Thus ended the insurrection in Ireland, in which it is estimated that more than 30,000 lives were sacrificed, and property to an immense amount was destroyed: the claims of the loyalists alone, for the compensation allowed by parliament, amounted to upwards of £1,000,000 sterling, which was not thought to equal more than one-third of the total loss.

The inattention of the French to the affairs of Ireland by no means arose from supineness; as they were at this time occupied with mighty schemes. Finding that country inaccessible to their plans of subjugation, and England becoming a nation of soldiers, ready to defend their dearest rights to the last, the French government acceded to a plan proposed by their victorious general, and determined on an expedition, which, it was thought, might ultimately extend to the most valuable territories of Great Britain: this project was to gain possession of Egypt, and establish a French power in that central position; with a double design of obtaining the riches of the Nile, and extending their sway to the banks of the Ganges; while the empires of Turkey and Hindostan should become appendages to the French republic. The idea of seizing and colonising Egypt had been suggested by Vergennes to the French government during the monarchy: it had for some time been entertained by Buonaparte, and it pleased the directory, who hoped, even if the great object of the expedition should be frustrated, to rid themselves of a troublesome and dangerous rival: funds, however, were absolutely wanting; for the treasury was almost empty: with that defiance, therefore, of all principle or political honesty which characterised the times, they looked around for some weak ally, or neutral, to plunder. Free Switzerland offered itself; and Berne had a well-supplied treasury: a quarrel, therefore, was sought against that government, on the pretext of its having publicly enrolled emigrants, and given shelter to deserters: a

French army, under general Brune, passed into Switzerland, on the marauding errand of pointing its cannon at Berne, and demanding the public purse of its citizens. This banditti, after some well-contested actions, succeeded: the ruling families were immediately displaced, the nature of the government was changed; the most respectable of the senators were sent into exile; and though the French professed to come in the character of protectors, the treasury was confiscated, and large contributions were exacted for the supply of the invading army. After some opposition, Lucerne was made the seat of the new government; an alliance, offensive and defensive, was contracted between the French and Helvetic republics; but the directory still continued to levy contributions and impose exactions on their allies to an immense amount. Thus Buonaparte filled his military chest from the Swiss coffers; and, on the nineteenth of May, he was enabled to conduct his expedition from the port of Toulon: it consisted of thirteen ships of the line, of which one was of the first and three of the second rate, with seven frigates and smaller vessels, making altogether forty-four sail, under the command of rear-admiral Brueyes: the transports amounted to nearly 200, carrying about 20,000 men, with a proportionable number of horses and artillery, provisions, and military stores, as well as a large body of scientific men, to make researches into the antiquities and productions of that interesting country to which they were bound. 'Ten days, however, before general Buonaparte's departure for Egypt,' says de Bourrienne, 'a prisoner escaped from the Temple,²⁰ who was destined to contribute most materially to his reverses: this escape was pregnant with future events; and a false order of the minister of police prevented the revolution of the East.'

The armament arrived at Malta on the tenth of June, when a general landing of troops and artillery took place: a few shots were exchanged, to save the honor of the knights;¹ and that impregnable fortress, betrayed by the constituted authorities, opened its gates to the enemy: little, however, did the conqueror then suppose that he had merely taken Malta in deposit for the English. A provisional government having been appointed, the fleet again put to sea, and in the evening of the thirtieth of June anchored in the roads of Alexandria:

²⁰ Sir William Sidney Smith.

¹ 'They were sold,' says De Bourrienne: 'the capture of Malta was assured before we left Toulon.' v. i. p. 137.

a landing was effected on the second of July, and the city was attacked and entered on the fifth. While the general in chief despatched Desaix toward Cairo, he issued orders for the fleet to take shelter in the old port; but, on sounding the channel, it was found that the depth of water was not sufficient for the admiral's ship; the road of Aboukir was therefore chosen as the fittest place of anchorage. Having defeated the beys and mamelukes in several actions, and conciliated the mahometan inhabitants by proclamations, in which he declared himself sent to protect their religion and destroy its enemies, Buonaparte took possession of Grand Cairo, sending Desaix against the powerful chieftain Murad Bey, whom he forced to take refuge in Upper Egypt; while Ibrahim Bey, in a contrary direction, fled toward Syria.

Lord St. Vincent still commanded the British fleet, stationed to observe the general movements of the enemy; and was cruising off Cadiz, when intelligence arrived of the departure of the French armament: its defeat was deemed by the British government an object of paramount importance; and his lordship was ordered to take his whole force, if necessary, into the Mediterranean; but if he considered that a detachment would be sufficient to effect the object, he was privately instructed to place it under the command of Sir Horatio Nelson; and it is highly creditable to earl St. Vincent, that he had already made the same choice: for Nelson was already in the Mediterranean, watching the preparations at Toulon, with three ships of seventy-four guns and four frigates. At the very time of the French fleet's sailing, he had put into the Sardinian port of San Pietro to refit his little squadron, which had been seriously damaged by a tempest; and was thus probably preserved from capture: this delay also enabled him to complete his supply of water, and receive a reinforcement which earl St. Vincent was enabled to send him, consisting of ten line-of-battle ships, and one of fifty guns, with which he was judiciously left by the commander-in-chief to steer intirely according to his own judgment. Unfortunately, the frigates had separated from him during the tempest, and could obtain no tidings of his course; he was therefore obliged to sail without them, and to suffer the most cruel anxiety and distress by reason of their absence. It is scarcely creditable to the administration of that day, to have sent against the formidable flotilla of their enemies, ships of so comparatively small a size as those under Nelson. While the French fleet contained a magnificent three-decker of 120 guns, and three of eighty; not one of the British squadron

carried more than seventy-four: they had also been fitted out hastily, and were not in good condition: but the captains were all men of unquestionable zeal, invincible courage, and great professional talents; and they were assisted by active officers, bred up in the best naval school, and supported by crews long practised in naval tactics: with such associates, their gallant commander was not to be discouraged by any odds against him in point of physical force.

The British admiral first sailed toward Naples; and on his voyage thither, learned that the enemy's fleet had visited Malta: he immediately formed a plan for attacking it there; but on his arrival, he found that the French had already departed to the eastward. Rightly conjecturing that Alexandria was their destination, thither he instantly steered; and if the frigates, which he lost, had been with him, or if others had been sent, as prudence required, he could hardly have failed to have obtained information of the enemy: for want of them, he only spoke three vessels on the way; and when he arrived on the twenty-eighth of June at Alexandria, he could gain no intelligence, except that advice had been received from Leghorn that the French intended to visit that port. In hopes of intercepting them, he steered to the coast of Caramania, and thence along the southern side of Candia; but being baffled in his pursuit, he returned to Sicily. When his want of success was known in England, the public voice declared that he deserved impeachment; and earl St. Vincent was severely censured for having sent so young an officer on so important a service!²

The Neapolitan ministry, anxious to avoid every thing which could endanger their peace with the directory, determined to give his squadron no assistance; but by means of lady Hamilton's influence at court, Nelson procured secret orders to the Sicilian governors, under which he obtained all necessary supplies at Syracuse. On the twenty-fifth of July, he set sail from that port, full of hope; having written to earl St. Vincent, 'that if the French were bound for the Antipodes, he would not lose a moment in bringing them to action.' After searching for them in vain on the coasts of the Morea, and deploring his want of frigates, he took the resolution to steer again for Alexandria. On the first of August, about ten o'clock in the morning, that port was in sight; not vacant and solitary, as when the British last saw it; but crowded with vessels, whilst the tricolored flag was waving on the walls. The grand fleet

² Southey's Life of Nelson.

was found moored in Aboukir-bay, in a strong and compact line of battle; the headmost vessel being as close as possible to a shoal on the north-west, and the rest forming a curve along the line of deep water, so as not to be turned in the south-west. Admiral Brueys had made the best use of his means, having chosen the strongest possible position in an open road; it being calculated, according to French authorities, to defy a force double of their own. Here, however, they had the advantage in all respects, particularly in their weight of metal and frigates; for their ships carried 1196 guns and 11,230 men, while those of their antagonists had only 1012 guns and 8068 men.

During the whole pursuit, it had been Nelson's practice to call his captains frequently on board the Vanguard, and explain to them such plans as he proposed to practise, according to the different situations in which he might find the foe; and thus his officers became perfectly acquainted with his tactics. From the moment he perceived the position of the French, his intuitive genius displayed itself; and the idea struck him, that where there was room for a French ship to swing, there must be space for a British ship to anchor, between it and the shore: accordingly, he determined that a part of his fleet should engage them on that side, whilst the rest should bear down on the other, and thus enclose them between two fires. Having formed this general design, he directed his captains, in whom he reposed unlimited confidence, to exercise their own judgment in executing it, while every ship should begin the battle where she could act with most power. As the squadron advanced, it was assailed by a shower of shot and shells from the batteries on the island of Aboukir; and the enemy opened a brisk fire from the starboard side of their line, within half-gun-shot distance, into the bows of our van ships: this was received by the British crews in perfect silence, whilst they were employed aloft in furling sails, and below in tending the braces, or making ready for anchoring.

The hour was now arrived, when it was to be seen which power should obtain dominion over the ocean. The admiral, having given orders for attacking the enemy's van and centre, soon afterwards hoisted a signal for close engagement; when such was the emulation displayed by all to gain an advanced post, as must have miserably depressed their adversaries, and inspired each other with invincible confidence: so alert were the whole, that no ship could get ahead of another, that was in the smallest degree advanced forward.

Captain Foley, who led the British van in the *Goliath*, darted ahead of the enemy's foremost ship, *Le Guerrier*; doubled her larboard side; and having poured in a destructive fire, moved on to the *Conquérant*, which he charged with tremendous fury, and in ten minutes shot away her masts: next followed the *Zealous*, captain Hood, which attacked the *Guerrier* on the side next the shore, and in twelve minutes totally disabled her: the *Orion*, Sir James Saumarez, took her station between the enemy's fifth and sixth ships, after having sunk a frigate which annoyed her: the *Theseus*, captain Miller, following the same example, encountered the enemy's third ship: the *Audacious*, captain Gould, moved round to the fifth: then advanced the *Vanguard*, carrying the heroic Nelson, and his no less heroic captain, Berry, which anchored on the outside of the enemy's third ship, with six colors flying in his rigging, lest they should be shot away: having veered half a cable, he opened a tremendous fire; under cover of which, the other four ships of his division, the *Minotaur*, *Bellerophon*, *Defence*, and *Majestic*, sailed on ahead of the admiral: in a few minutes, every man stationed at the first six guns, in the fore part of the *Vanguard's* deck, was killed or wounded; and three times in succession did the fire of the enemy sweep away the seamen that served those guns. Captain Louis, in the *Minotaur*, nobly supported his commander; and anchoring next ahead of the *Vanguard*, took off the fire of the *Aquilon*, the fourth in the French line: the *Defence*, captain Peyton, took her station ahead of the *Minotaur*, and engaged the *Franklin*, of eighty guns, the sixth ship of the enemy, which bore the flag of admiral Blanquet de Chelard, the second in command: thus, by the masterly seamanship of the British commanders, nine of our ships were so disposed, as to bear on six of the enemy: the seventh in the French line was the *Orient*, the admiral's ship, carrying 120 guns; which stupendous adversary was undertaken by the *Bellerophon*, captain Darby; while the *Majestic*, captain Westcott, engaged the *Heureux*, the ninth ship on the starboard bow; receiving also, at the same time, the fire of the *Tonnant*, the eighth in the line. The other four ships of the British squadron, having been detached previously to the discovery of the French, were at a considerable distance when the action commenced; and the shades of night began to descend before they reached the scene of action: captain Trowbridge, in the *Culloden*, took the lead of these; but the increased darkness having greatly augmented the difficulties of the navigation,

that vessel suddenly grounded on a shoal, and could not be got off in time to share in the action: it was, however, some satisfaction to her commanding officer, that his ship served as a beacon to the *Alexander* and *Swiftsure*, which would otherwise have gone considerably farther in on the reef, and been inevitably lost: these ships took their stations in a manner that commanded general admiration. At this juncture, the *Bellerophon*, overpowered by the huge *Orient*, her lights extinguished, and nearly 200 of her crew killed or wounded, with all her masts and cables shot away, was drifting out of the line toward the lee side of the bay, when the *Swiftsure* at first mistook her for an enemy's vessel, and was preparing to fire; but captain Hallowell's prompt judgment prevented this misfortune; and his ship came up, took her station, and opened a steady fire on the quarter of the *Franklin*, and the bows of the French admiral: at the same instant, captain Ball, with the *Alexander*, passed under the stern of the *Orient*, and, anchoring within side of her larboard quarter, raked her, and kept up a severe fire of musketry on her decks: the last ship which arrived to complete the destruction of the enemy, was the *Leander*, of fifty guns, captain Thompson; which nobly took its station as a ship of the line, and in such a position as to rake both the *Franklin* and the *Orient*.

The conflict now proceeded in the darkness of the night; and the only light to guide operations was derived from the flashes of the cannon. The first two ships of the French line had been dismasted within a quarter of an hour from the commencement of the action; and others had suffered so severely, that victory was already certain; its extent was the only remaining question: the third, fourth, and fifth ships of the enemy were taken possession of at half-past eight. While the battle raged in its utmost fury, the British admiral received a wound on the head, from a piece of langridge shot, that cut a large flap of the skin from the forehead; which, falling over his only remaining eye, left him in total darkness. From the great effusion of blood, it was apprehended that the wound would be mortal; Nelson himself thought so, and desired his chaplain to deliver his dying remembrances to lady Nelson; but the surgeon, after examination, pronounced the wound to be only superficial: in the mean time his place on the quarter-deck was most ably supplied by captain Berry. The French admiral, Brueys, who supported the honour of his flag with undiminished firmness, and who had been three times wounded without quitting his station, now received a shot

which nearly cut him in two : but he refused to be carried down below, and died on the quarter-deck. Soon after nine o'clock, the *Orient* struck her colors, and appeared in flames : these spread with astonishing rapidity ; and by their prodigious light, the situation of the hostile fleets could be distinctly seen from the minarets of Rosetta, at a distance of fifteen miles. About ten o'clock, she blew up with an explosion, which was felt by every vessel to the very bottom of its keel : this was succeeded by a silence not less awful ; the sanguinary conflict ceased on both sides ; and the first sound which broke that portentous stillness, was the splash of shattered masts and yards falling into the sea. Not more than about seventy of the crew could be saved by the English boats ; and the money which the *Orient* had on board, the plunder of Malta, amounting to £600,000, was totally lost.

After a lapse of about ten minutes, the firing recommenced with the ships to the leeward of the centre, and continued without intermission till three o'clock next morning : it then grew faint, till about five, when it was resumed with redoubled fury ; but on the enemy's side, it was the resistance of despair. At daybreak, the *Guillaume Tell*, and the *Généreux*, the rear ships of the enemy, were the only two of the line that had their colors flying ; and in the forenoon, they cut their cables, and stood out to sea, with two frigates : the *Zealous*, worthy of her name, instantly commenced a pursuit ; but, as there was no other ship in a condition to support captain Hood, he was recalled. The firing continued in the bay with some intermission till two o'clock in the afternoon, when it intirely ceased.

Thus ended an engagement, which will ever rank amongst the most distinguished achievements in naval annals. The result was, that out of a fleet of thirteen sail, the admiral's ship of 120 guns, and the *Timoleon* of 74, were burnt ; while two 80 gun ships, and seven of 74 were captured : the British admiral was firmly persuaded, that, if he had been more amply provided with frigates, all the enemy's transports and vessels in the bay would have shared the fate of their line : this deficiency he deeply felt ; and in his forcible way of expressing himself, he exclaimed, ' Should I die at the present moment, the want of frigates would be found written on my heart.' The British loss in killed and wounded amounted to 895 : of the French, 3105, including the wounded, went on shore by cartel ; while 5225 perished in the action ; constituting a loss, during that glorious, but fatal night, of more than 500

human beings an hour! One British captain only fell; the brave Westcott, who was killed early in the action.

The victory was celebrated throughout England with every sign of exultation. His majesty conferred the dignity of baron only,³ with a pension of £2000 per annum, on the admiral, who was called to the house of peers by the style and dignity of baron Nelson of the Nile; but the king of Naples, with a better discernment of merit, soon afterwards honored Nelson as he deserved, by granting to him the title of duke of Bronté; to which a very fine estate in Sicily was annexed: the grand signor also transmitted to him a superb diamond chelengk, or triumphal plume, taken from one of the imperial turbans. Captains Berry and Thompson received the honor of knighthood; and all the commanders were presented with swords and gold medals. The sultan sent also a purse of 2000 sequins, to be distributed amongst the wounded; and the British nation raised by subscription a very considerable sum for the widows and children of those who fell in the contest.

Nelson sent home his despatches by captain Berry, in the *Leander*, of fifty guns, commanded by captain Thompson. Unluckily, they fell in with the *Généreux*, just escaped from the battle, and were compelled to surrender to her great superiority of force, after a desperate resistance, which Nelson himself styled 'glorious,' and one that conferred the highest honor on those two able officers.⁴ The *Leander* was carried into Corfu, after the officers and men had been plundered of all they possessed, even to their clothes, and otherwise treated in the most illiberal manner.

The political effects of this action were instantaneous and surprising; the enemies of France shook off their despondency, and a new spirit re-animated their councils. The British government, anticipating these sentiments, entertained hopes of reviving a coalition against the republic, for which various circumstances were peculiarly favorable: the Austrians in fact regarded the treaty of Campo Formio merely as an armed truce, for making preparations to renew the combat, and to

³ That Nelson felt this, appears from a letter addressed by him to his excellent and esteemed friend, Sir Edward Berry; where he says,—'As to our honors, it is a proof, how much more a battle fought near England is prized, than one fought at a great distance.'

⁴ See a letter in the *United Service Journal*, No. XXIX. p. 509.

recover their lost advantages. The congress at Radstadt had proceeded very slowly in adjusting differences between the French republic and the princes of the empire; while many causes of dissent were either found or made: Russia had hitherto done little more than lend her name to the confederacy; and when, after the secession of Prussia, the czarina was preparing to act in reality, she was suddenly arrested by the hand of death: her successor, though weak in intellect, had high notions of hereditary power; and resenting deeply the expulsion of the Bourbon family from their legitimate authority, he determined to attempt their restoration; and this appeared an easier task after the splendid victory of the Nile. The Turks also were highly indignant at the invasion of Egypt, and manifested a determination to combine with the opponents of France. The British ministers were not slow in discovering these sentiments, and endeavored to form a coalition more powerful than that which had just been broken up: nor did they confine their views to European powers; having strong hopes of drawing the United States of America also into the coalition.

In 1797 many captures of American vessels had been made by French cruisers; and a farther decree on this subject was issued by the directory in January this year, declaring, 'that all ships, having cargoes wholly or in part of English merchandise, should be deemed lawful prizes, whoever might be the proprietors; such being considered contraband, from the single circumstance of its coming from England, or any of her settlements.' It also enacted, that the French harbors should be shut against all ships, except those in distress, which had even touched at an English port; and that neutral sailors, found on board English vessels, should be condemned to death.⁵ The Americans, harassed by these proceedings, instructed their envoy to take measures for restoring harmony; but he was refused an audience by the directory, who, imputing this desire to intimidation, attempted to make a gain of their supposed fears, by intimating, that if a treaty was to be renewed, America must advance a large sum of money for such a favor. Though the Americans were still anxious to avoid a rupture, which must necessarily be injurious to their commerce, this demand, striking at the very root of their independence, impelled them to make a struggle in defence of their rights, in

⁵ The execution of this clause was prevented by a threat of retaliation on the part of Great Britain.

which they had all Europe on their side; and as the French continued to demand a loan, capture American vessels, and use the most insulting language, congress, at length, granted letters of *marque* to individuals, took measures for establishing a powerful navy, and conferred the command of their army on Washington. The spirit of that veteran was roused by the insults offered to his country; and he consented to lay aside all considerations of age or ease, and to lead his warriors once more to the tented field, provided he should not be called on to act until his presence was indispensable. At this period the destruction of the French fleet at Alexandria diffused joy over the United States; stimulating their exertions against a government which appeared to be a disturber of all social order, and inclining them to co-operate with an European confederacy which strove to curb its powers of mischief.

Amidst the signal successes of Great Britain this year against foreign and domestic foes, she experienced one disappointment. An expedition was fitted out, for the purpose of seizing the ships and stores at Ostend, and blowing up the sluices of the Bruges canal, to prevent the internal intercourse that was kept up between Holland, Flanders, and France. The armament sailed on the eighteenth of May under captain Home Popham and major-general Coote; and was successful in its first effort to demolish the sluice-gates, and effect an explosion, which greatly damaged the basin: but when the soldiers wished to return on shipboard, they found a retreat impracticable, on account of the wind and surf; and were therefore compelled to surrender. A small armament was also despatched against Minorca, under admiral Duckworth and general Stuart, which succeeded in taking the island without loss. In St. Domingo, however, disease made such havoc among our troops, that general Maitland was instructed to surrender Port-au-Prince and St. Marc to Toussaint L'Ouverture, a negro commander, who had almost annihilated the French power in that island; and in the course of the year every other post was evacuated.

Parliament met on the twentieth of November, at a time when public discontent had been silenced by the contemplation of our maritime glory, and the power of the British government had been strengthened by the overthrow of rebellion in Ireland. His majesty's speech having bestowed a just tribute of applause on our naval heroes, expressed a hope that our successes would inspire other powers to exert themselves for the deliverance of Europe. He entertained great expectations from the example of Russia and Turkey; which must be a powerful

encouragement to all states struggling under the yoke of France, to adopt that vigorous conduct which their security and honor demanded. The supreme objects of parliamentary consideration were financial propositions, with measures for internal defence, for invigorating the European confederacy now forming, and for effecting a permanent union between Great Britain and Ireland. The numbers demanded for the army and navy were somewhat greater than those of last year: the necessary supplies were stated as amounting to about £30,000,000, towards which the usual ways and means would produce £6,100,000: it remained then to be considered how the deficiency should be raised: here two leading principles presented themselves; either to provide the whole by a loan, on the old system; or to raise a considerable portion within the year, according to the plan adopted last session. Mr. Pitt then proceeded to unfold his new scheme of finance. As the assessed taxes, from the number of modifications, had failed in their expected produce; he proposed, in lieu of them, to impose a direct tax on income, requiring a tenth from incomes of £200 and upwards, with a modified scale for all between sixty and that sum; the returns to be made by the person assessed, subject to the inspection of a surveyor, who should lay before certain commissioners any grounds of doubt as to the fairness of such returns. The national income, after one fifth was deducted for modifications, he calculated at £102,000,000; on which a tax of ten per cent. would produce £10,000,000 per annum. To this proposition many and strong objections were urged: it was reprobated as involving the revolutionary principle, that all property belongs to the state; as leading to very inconvenient disclosures of property, especially in the case of commercial men; that £200 was too low a rate to admit a subtraction of one tenth; and that the gradation ought to continue to at least £500, to be compensated by increased deductions from larger incomes. With still greater justice it was said, that the source of income ought to be considered; that persons deriving a revenue from professional skill or personal industry, and seeking to make a provision for their families, ought not to pay in the same proportion as landed and monied capitalists, who were already secured against want, and on whose property, especially if inherited, the laws of society have a large claim.

The unfair nature of this assessment could only be equalled by the unfairness of the arguments with which it was supported. The minister contended, that if two persons had each an in-

come of £500, one of whom derived it from land and the other from his own industry, they ought both to be taxed equally at £50; for to complain of this inequality, was to complain of the distribution of property; it was to complain of the constitution of society! The consequence of this tax, he said, would be to all alike; and whoever contributed a tenth of his income under the bill, would have a tenth less to spend, to save, or to accumulate. The house divided; for the farther consideration of the report 183, against it 17. After undergoing several amendments, the bill passed into a law on the eighteenth of March, 1799, the fifth of April being the day fixed on for making the returns. From the facility of collection and of augmentation, such a tax as this must always be acceptable to government. Why then, it may be said, should it not always be adopted, especially if the principle of an income tax be equitably adjusted on a graduated scale? The answer to this is, that every nation ought to encourage the accumulation of wealth or capital; for which purpose, government ought, as far as possible, to defray its expenses out of that part of the national income which is to be spent, not out of that which is meant to be accumulated: in the present instance, however, the exigences of the state were more important than the preservation of this principle; and the fictitious prosperity of the country, raised by paper currency and the augmentation of commerce, caused the evil to be but slightly felt: besides, it was considered as a war tax; and there was little to complain of, except the inequality of the assessment, and the consequent injustice done to individuals.

On the eighteenth of December, a provisional treaty was concluded between Great Britain and Russia, the general object of which was to concert such measures as might contribute most efficaciously to oppose the progress of the French arms; and for this purpose his Britannic majesty engaged to furnish the pecuniary resources, to be paid monthly, and amounting in the whole to £1,125,000.

In a motion, made by Mr. Tierney, stating 'that it was the duty of ministers to advise his majesty, in the present crisis, against entering into engagements which might prevent or impede a negociation for peace with the French republic,' Mr. Canning electrified the house by a master-piece of eloquence, and inspired the country at large with a very high admiration of his talents; while he entered into a full investigation of our foreign policy, vindicating the treaties and alliances already made, and preparing the public mind for the reception of those

measures which were now meditated by the British cabinet. 'It is justly contended,' he said, 'that the deliverance of Europe cannot be effected by our exertions alone; and that unless other powers are sincerely disposed to co-operate, we are setting out on a romantic and absurd enterprise, which we have no chance of accomplishing, nor any duty or call to undertake. I perfectly agree, that if other powers are not disposed to co-operate, we have no chance of success; but I cannot help asking, at the same time, if there be no such disposition on the part of other powers, where is the use, or what is the necessity of the honorable gentleman's motion? Why need parliament interfere to prevent his majesty's ministers from taking advantage of dispositions which do not exist, and from accepting co-operation which will not be offered? but if the powers of Europe, or any of them, are ready to do their part toward the common salvation, and want only our countenance and encouragement to begin; if the train is laid; if the sparks of resentment, which the aggressions of France have kindled in every nation throughout Europe, want but our breath to blow them into a conflagration;—is it the dictate of our duty, our interest, or our feelings, to save France from destruction; and by a coarse and hasty proceeding, like that now recommended to us, to throw a wet blanket on the flames?' He then proceeded to show how an alliance with Russia and Turkey might enable us to sweep from the Levant and Mediterranean the scattered remnants of that piratical armament, the naval force of which had been so signally destroyed; and how the probable accession of other allies might wrest the Netherlands and Italy from the grasp of the conqueror: he dilated on the glorious successes of the British arms; and reminded all who heard him, that they had concurred in an address to the throne, expressing a hearty hope that the opening, afforded by those successes, might lead to the general deliverance of Europe; and pledging themselves, in no equivocal manner, to assist with their voices and counsel in the prosecution of so important an object. He opposed the motion, as calculated to carry dismay and terror throughout Europe, while it administered hope, power, and confidence to France.

Mr. Pitt also eloquently displayed the favorable prospects of another coalition; but he unfortunately hazarded a glowing eulogy on the character of the prince who now swayed the Russian sceptre; delineating the magnanimity of Paul, his zeal for religion, and his love of justice and social order; from which he inferred fidelity and consistency in his political

engagements. This brilliant picture of combined virtues made a powerful impression on the house; and on the security offered by the pious, honorable, and conscientious character of a madman, the sums required were voted: three millions more also were granted to his majesty for making good such other engagements as he might contract; and no long period elapsed, before a new combination was formed against the French republic, in extent far greater than the former, but from this very circumstance proportionally checked in its operations. The first approach to this coalition was the declaration of war against France by the Porte, dissolving the oldest bond of amity in Europe: a more important advance was the treaty between Russia and England; though the former of those two powers had already contracted an alliance with Naples and Turkey: with Sicily England formed an alliance on the first of December; and with the Ottoman Porte on the fifteenth of January, 1799: on the twenty-first, Naples and Turkey also signed a treaty of union. The duration of these alliances was fixed for eight years: their conditions were generally a mutual guarantee of all possessions, including Egypt, in the case of the Porte; a common prosecution and termination of the war; the closing of all harbors, especially those in the Mediterranean, against the French; and British subsidies to Russia and other states. But it was the accession of both, or at least one, of the leading powers in Germany, which could alone open the road to active operations: the obstruction, however, to the course of affairs at Radstadt, occasioned by the attacks on Rome and Switzerland, and the expedition to Egypt, as well as the increasing differences between the republic and Austria, left little room for doubt that this latter power might be gained; although Prussia, thinking to steer safely in the general storm between Scylla and Charybdis, persisted in her neutrality. After the fruitless negotiations at Selz, Austria began to contract closer relations with Russia and England, conceding to the former state the mediation with Prussia respecting future indemnifications: the advance of a Russian army through the Austrian territories in December, gave clearer demonstrations of her sentiments; and caused the French ambassador to make a declaration on the second of January, 1799.

Italy, as usual, was destined to be the grand scene of action, to which all these negotiations tended; and on the plains of that devoted country the first skirmishes took place. After the erection of the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, the demo-

cratic party became more widely spread, and caused in Rome itself the subversion of its government. On the tenth of February, that ancient capital of the world was occupied by French troops, in consequence of a popular insurrection; the Roman republic was proclaimed on the fifteenth; and on the twentieth, Pius VI., then eighty years old, was carried off, with several cardinals, into exile. The liberation of the ecclesiastical states was undertaken by the weakest and most profligate court in Europe. 'The state of Naples,' says Mr. Southey,⁶ 'may be described in few words. The king was one of the Spanish Bourbons; and as the Cæsars have shown us to what wickedness the moral nature of princes may be perverted; so in this family the degradation to which their intellect can be reduced has been not less conspicuously evinced. Ferdinand, like the rest of his race, cared only for field sports; while his queen had all the vices of the house of Austria, with little to mitigate, and nothing to ennoble them: provided she could have her pleasures, and the king his sports, they cared not how the revenue was raised or administered. Of course, a system of favoritism existed; and the vilest and most impudent corruption prevailed in every department of the state and every branch of administration.' A sense of better things, says the same excellent author, was kept alive in some of the Neapolitans by literature, and their intercourse with happier countries: these persons naturally looked to France at the commencement of the revolution; and during all its horrors, still cherished a hope, that by aid of that country, they might be enabled to establish a better order of affairs in their own. Mistaken as they were in supposing that the true principles of liberty would ever be supported by France, they were right in believing that no government could be worse than their own; therefore they considered any change as desirable; and though many of the nobles and men of desperate fortunes desired revolution only to enrich themselves in the scramble, and on that account sold themselves to the French; yet some enlightened men joined in the same cause from nobler motives: but all were confounded by a corrupt, profligate court under the name of jacobins; and it is worthy of remark, as Mr. Southey has observed, that many of the continental jacobins were regarded by the English with more hatred than they deserved: 'they were all classed with Marat and Hebert; whereas they deserved rather to be ranked, if not with Locke,

⁶ Life of Nelson.

Sidney, and Russell, at least with Argyle, Monmouth, and those, who, having the same object as the prime movers of our own revolution, failed in their premature, but not unworthy attempts. No circumstances could be more unfavorable to the best interests of Europe, than those which placed England in strict alliance with the superannuated and abominable governments of the continent. The subjects of those governments, who wished for freedom, thus became enemies to England, and dupes or agents to France: they looked to their own grinding grievances; and did not see the danger with which the liberties of the world were threatened; while England saw the danger in its true magnitude, but was blind to those grievances; and found herself compelled to support systems, which had formerly been equally the object of her abhorrence and contempt.' With such materials, can it be surprising that coalitions failed?

On the twenty-second of November, king Ferdinand put his army in motion against the French, having placed general Mack at its head, concerning whom, all that is now doubtful is, whether he was a coward or a traitor: at that time he was assiduously extolled as a consummate commander, to whom Europe might look for deliverance.⁷ On the twenty-ninth, this redoubtable general succeeded in making himself master of the Roman capital; while 5000 troops, conveyed by British ships, made an entrance into Leghorn: this success, however, was of short duration; for on the fifteenth of December, the Neapolitan troops suffered a signal defeat at Civita Castellana; which disaster was followed by the immediate evacuation of Rome, where they had made themselves much more hated by all parties than the French had been. After a series of defeats during a continued retreat, Ferdinand IV. was obliged to take refuge on board the British fleet, which immediately transferred him, with his family and treasures, to Palermo. Mack, under pretext of taking shelter from the fury of the *lazzaroni*, fled to the French general Championet, who, after two days of hard fighting in the streets with that extraordinary body of men,

⁷ At a review of his army before Nelson, he so directed the operations of a mock fight, that by an unlucky blunder his own troops were surrounded, instead of those of his adversary; on which, the British admiral exclaimed with bitterness, 'that the fellow did not understand his business:' he was confirmed in this opinion, when told that general Mack could not move without five carriages. Southey's Life.

obtained complete possession of Naples about the middle of January. The king of Sardinia, in the mean time, finding it impossible longer to endure the insults and exactions of France, resigned his continental dominions to that power, and sailed under British protection to Sardinia: Tuscany also was soon occupied by the French troops; but the important island of Sicily was preserved from French domination chiefly by the energy of Nelson, with whom Sir Charles Stuart strenuously co-operated, hastening from Minorca with 1000 men to assist him in measures for its defence. Such was the state of our foreign relations at the opening of the year 1799.

The British ministers were not occupied solely about schemes of external operation; since measures respecting the better management of the sister kingdom now deeply engaged their attention. No true patriot could help wishing that the inhabitants of Ireland might attain to the same habits, manners, and improvements, which had made England the envy of Europe: and by what means could he hope to accomplish that purpose so effectually, as by uniting the two governments, and binding up all their interests and concerns in a common union? Even supposing there were no other reasons which rendered such a junction desirable, the state of the continent, especially of France, seemed to dictate its policy at this period. France was proceeding to incorporate various small states into her huge mass, extending at the same time her principles and intrigues into every corner of Europe; and, in proportion as the power of that country increased, so ought the strength of her only real antagonist to be augmented; and if any particular part of the British empire had become open to the attacks of France, or its republican party in England, such an avenue of disunion ought immediately to be closed. On these accounts, the union of England and Ireland was a favorite measure with Mr. Pitt; and that it was one of sound policy, few will venture to deny: in order, however, not to take the nation by surprise, a pamphlet was published, under ministerial auspices, by the under secretary, Mr. Cooke, styled—‘Arguments for and against a Union between Great Britain and Ireland considered.’ Thus the question was fairly brought before the public; and as was supposed, that the government thus declared their sentiments in favor of the measure, a vehement controversy arose, in the course of which, beside arguments in the newspapers, no less than thirty pamphlets issued from the Irish press before the end of the current year. Counties, cities, and boroughs loudly declared their sentiments, gene-

rally adverse to the union; especially the city of Dublin, which apprehended great injury from the withdrawal of so large a multitude as was collected within its walls during the sitting of parliament. The lawyers almost universally opposed the measure; which they condemned at a public meeting, 'as a dangerous innovation:' it was, however, dangerous only to their private interests; since numbers of them got into the Irish house of commons, and raised themselves to notice by political contests: such opportunities they would lose by the removal of the parliament to England, on account of their obligation to attend the Irish courts. Of all public bodies, however, the proceedings of the Irish parliament are intitled to most attention; and these will come before us in the regular course of the narrative.

CHAP. XLII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1799.

Committee of secresy ; new bill of restriction and other regulations—His majesty's message to parliament respecting a union with Ireland—Discussion, and address carried—The subject introduced into the Irish legislature, &c.—Government influence used in favor of it, &c.—Renewal of the subject in the British parliament—Mr. Pitt's resolutions as a basis of the measure—Conference between the two houses—Debates in the lords—Speech of the lord-lieutenant at the prorogation of the Irish parliament—Supplimentary militia—Mr. Wilberforce's annual motion—Parliament prorogued—King's speech—Affairs of India—Lord Teignmouth's policy—Administration of the marquis Wellesley—Efforts of the new coalition in Europe—French system of attack—Operations in Germany under Jourdan, who is defeated—Massena takes the command—Operations in Italy and Switzerland—Events in Naples and Rome—Joint British and Russian expedition to Holland—Capture of Surinam—Exploits of the British navy—Buonaparte's conduct in Egypt—His flight to France, and establishment of a new government—Meeting of the British parliament ; supplies, militia bill, &c.—State of the public mind inclined toward peace—Correspondence on this subject between Napoleon and the British government.

THE suppression of jacobinical principles at home being considered equally necessary with the prosecution of foreign war, the report of a committee of secresy, appointed to inquire into the proceedings of British and Irish associations, led to a new bill of restriction : the committee imputed the mutiny of the fleet, and other evils, to these dangerous combinations, which held close communication with the French government ; and they gave it as their opinion, that an insurrection of the most alarming nature was meditated in London at the time of the Irish rebellion, which was only prevented by the seizure of certain leaders, and the timidity of others. Following the

advice given by the framers of this report, Mr. Pitt proposed, that his majesty should be empowered to transfer to any eligible place within the realm persons detained on suspicion of treasonable practices, in order to prevent that facility of organising and carrying on conspiracies, which the metropolis and other large towns afforded: he also advised that such societies should be declared illegal, and those who continued members of them be subjected to fine or imprisonment, and in aggravated cases to transportation: debating clubs also were put under strict regulations; and to prevent the propagation of sedition through the press, the names of printers were required to be affixed to every publication. This bill, though strenuously opposed, was carried by large majorities. Not long previously, his majesty had showed his marked displeasure against one of the most eminent politicians of the day, whose conduct was considered as affording encouragement to sedition among the lower orders: at a board of privy council, on the twenty-fifth of May, when the clerk produced the book containing the list of counsellors, the king took his pen, and drawing it across the name of Charles James Fox, returned the book without comment.⁸

On the twenty-second of January a message was received from his majesty, relative to the important measure of a legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, as an effectual method for defeating the design of our enemies to effect a separation of the two kingdoms, and for consolidating the power and resources of the British empire. This message was next day discussed in the commons; when Mr. Dundas moved and carried an address, importing that the house would proceed, with all due despatch, to a consideration of the several interests submitted to their attention. In the debates to which this address gave rise, no one more strenuously denied the justice and policy of the proposed union than Mr. Sheridan: he was answered in a very masterly speech by Mr. Canning; who, arguing the question on general principles, arrived at the conclusion to which they naturally conducted him. 'The object of the proposition,' he said, 'was most important: it was not the making of a provincial

⁸ This act of his majesty was attributed to a toast which Mr. Fox had given at the whig-club,—'The sovereignty of the people of Great Britain.' The name of Henry Grattan was soon afterwards erased, in consequence of the part he took in the tumultuous proceedings in Ireland.

regulation, not the adjusting of an internal difference, not the arrangement of a plan for balancing parties: the object was nothing less than to secure Ireland to us and to herself, and thereby to promote the happiness and security of the whole empire.' For the general opinion of the protestant party in Ireland regarding this measure, he appealed to the ingenious work of Dr. Duigenan, in answer to Mr. Grattan. 'That gentleman,' said Mr. Canning, 'is well known to be decidedly hostile to the pretensions of the catholics; he insists on the necessity of their continued exclusion from a share in the legislature, or in the great offices of state; but he confesses that such necessity of exclusion would be done away by the adoption of some plan similar to that proposed in his majesty's message: he states it as an unavoidable alternative, either that a plan of union be adopted, or some other method devised for the fortification of protestant ascendancy. This fortification Dr. Duigenan would fain build on the re-enactment of the popery code; but he admits this to be unnecessary in case of a union between the two countries. Ask now the other, the catholic party; and what is their answer? Why, let us have a union, or a continued struggle for that which you have hitherto denied us, a repeal of the remaining part of the penal code. In adopting the amendment of my honorable friend, and refusing to go into a consideration of the address, the house would put an end to the only great and comprehensive view which it has ever taken of the affairs of Ireland. The plans hitherto proposed respecting that country, except in the case of the Irish propositions, have generally been to answer some immediate purpose; to catch at a little popularity, by decrying one party and extolling another; and by echoing in this country the distractions and disturbances of that, whenever it has so happened that our own affairs have furnished no immediate ground for popular declamation.'

The same day on which his majesty's message was delivered to the British senate, the session of the Irish parliament commenced; and the lord lieutenant brought the subject of a union regularly before them, by a recommendation similar to that laid before the other legislature. In the house of lords the address approving such a measure was carried by a large majority; but in the commons it was opposed with great acrimony, and even with menaces of armed resistance. During the course of the session, the subject was variously discussed; but, though the unionists were foiled in some questions, as the session advanced they obtained a small majority. It was not,

however, attempted to bring the matter to a final discussion at this time: meanwhile agents actively exerted themselves in tampering with members; inducing many strong opposers of the measure to vacate their seats, that others more pliable might be elected in their room; and not only during the session, but after its conclusion, government exerted all its influence, lavishing the public money on all sides, and entering into numerous engagements, for the purpose of making proselytes: the enemies of the union also were active, but they were not supplied with the same powerful means. The populace of Dublin were violent against the measure, and expressed unbounded exultation when the ministry were defeated in the house of commons. The enthusiasm of the capital, however, did not extend to the nation at large: the weight of the landed interest was in favor of the plan; while Cork, the second city in the kingdom, and most other commercial towns, though greatly agitated and divided, took in general a proper view of its utility.

On the thirty-first of January the subject was again brought under consideration in the British parliament by Mr. Pitt; who, after expressing disappointment at the proceedings in the Irish legislature, and eloquently expatiating on the necessity of a more intimate connexion between the two countries, proceeded to lay down certain resolutions for the basis of such a measure. These were, that the two islands shall be united into one kingdom, by the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; that the succession of the crown shall be limited and settled as at present; that the united realm shall be represented by one common parliament, in which a certain number of lords and commons, hereafter to be defined, shall have a seat on the part of Ireland; that the churches of England and Ireland be preserved as now by law established; that the king's subjects in Ireland be intitled to the same privileges, in point of trade and navigation, with those of Great Britain, subject to certain regulations relative to equality of duties, &c.; that the charge for payment of the interest of the debt of each kingdom, before the union, shall continue to be paid by Great Britain and Ireland separately; but that the future ordinary expenses of the united kingdom shall be defrayed by them jointly, according to proportions to be settled by the parliament of each country before the union takes place; that all laws in force at the time of the union, and all the courts, civil or ecclesiastical, shall remain as now established, subject only to

such alterations as circumstances may recommend to the united parliament.

The house divided on the question of the speaker's leaving the chair; ayes 140, noes 15; and after some farther debates, Mr. Pitt's propositions were carried by large majorities. On the fourteenth of February the report of the committee was brought up; when it was ordered, that a message be sent to the lords, requesting a conference concerning the best means of perpetuating and improving the connexion between the two kingdoms.

The proposed conference accordingly took place; and on the nineteenth of March lord Grenville moved, 'that the house do agree to the resolutions then submitted to its consideration by the commons;' which motion, though strenuously opposed, was carried without a division. On the eleventh of April, his lordship moved an address to the throne, which was supported by the bishop of Llandaff, in one of the ablest speeches⁹ ever heard in that house. 'If,' said he, 'I were to express my sentiments regarding the utility of this measure in few words, I would say, that it will enrich Ireland; that it will not impoverish Great Britain; but that it will render the empire, as to defence, the strongest empire in Europe.' The question, whether the Roman catholics, being a great majority of the people, had a right to some ecclesiastical establishment, and to the removal of all civil disabilities, was considered by the learned prelate as a very perplexing one; especially as the property, by which such establishment must be maintained, was principally in the hands of a small minority, to whom no direct and immediate benefit would accrue from it. 'Whenever,' said he, 'this question is agitated, (and the sooner perhaps it is agitated and settled, the better) I hope it will be remembered, that nothing can be expedient which is not just and lawful; but that many things may be right, just, and lawful, which may not, politically speaking, be expedient to be done.' Another question he considered of so difficult a nature, that the prospective wisdom of the most consummate statesman could not decide on it with any certainty: this was, whether the British constitution would or would not undergo some change; and if any, what change, from the introduction of Irish members into our two houses of parliament? After detailing and commenting on the different opinions held in

⁹ It was so characterised by bishop Horsley, a political opponent of Dr. Watson. See autobiography of the latter, p. 326.

Ireland itself respecting the measure, he proceeded with the following observations :—

‘ I foresee, with great satisfaction, the time, when, if this union takes place, the whole state of Ireland will be changed. The overflowing of British capital will, at a peace, instead of finding its way to France or America, settle in Ireland : it will, in time, convert the bogs of that country into corn-fields, it will cover its barren mountains with forests ; it will dig its mines, cut its canals, erect its fabrics, explore new channels of commerce, and improve the old ones ; in a word, by supplying labor, it will render the people industrious, enlightened, contented, and happy. I, my lords, shall not live to see the effects of this measure ; for great objects do not attain to their full perfection at once : but our posterity will see them, and will have cause to bless the enlarged policy of two legislatures, which, rising superior to petty jealousies, and sacrificing partial interests on the altar of general safety, have coalesced into one, for the benefit of both.’

The motion was carried without a division, though a protest was signed by the lords Holland, Thanet, and King : a committee was then named, consisting of lords Grenville, Minto, and Auckland, with the bishop of Llandaff, to draw up an address, in which the commons, at a second conference next day, were invited to join ; and this proposal being agreed to, it was presented to his majesty in the most solemn manner, as the united address of both houses of parliament.

In Ireland all farther consideration of the bill was postponed to the first of August : it was, however, manifest that the court was determined to persevere ; and the lord lieutenant, at the termination of the session, announced to the legislature the resolutions and address which had been carried by that of Great Britain : he also declared, that his majesty, as the common father of his people, must look forward with earnest anxiety to the moment when his subjects in both kingdoms may all be inseparably united in the full enjoyment of the blessings of a free constitution.

Though there was now very little ground for apprehending an invasion, and the measures adopted respecting Ireland tended to prevent the recurrence of rebellion ; yet it was still considered necessary to be vigilant : the supplementary militia, therefore, was continued on the same footing as before. Mr. Wilberforce did not forget his annual motion for the abolition of the slave trade ; but it had, this session, to encounter additional opposition, arising from the existence of a negro army in San Do-

mingo, and the efforts made to propagate democratical principles through the West Indian islands. On the twelfth of July parliament was prorogued by his majesty, who declared that the decision and energy of his ally, the emperor of Russia, and the intimate union established between them, would enable him to employ most advantageously the powerful means entrusted to him, for establishing the safety and honor of this country, as well as the independence of Europe: he adverted also with satisfaction to the restored tranquillity of Ireland, and its future security, which could only be ensured by a complete union with Great Britain.

Our contest with the French republic was not confined to Europe: the grand object of the Egyptian expedition had been to strike a blow at the commercial prosperity of Great Britain; and among the various measures suggested for this purpose, none seemed more promising than the formation of alliances with the native powers of India. The intercourse with Tippoo Saib, during the administration of Sir John Shore, who succeeded lord Cornwallis, was bounded by the execution of the treaty of Seringapatam: when his sons were restored, on its fulfilment in March, 1794, the officer who conducted them was authorised to make overtures towards a more amicable connexion; but on this occasion Tippoo disdained to practise hypocrisy, and received the proposition with studied coolness. The only other events which demand notice, beside the reduction of the Dutch settlements, are the death of Mohammed Ali, the old nabob of Arcot, in 1795; and that of Asuph u Dowla, vizir of Oude, in 1797; when his son, who was suspected to be spurious, was dethroned; and Saadut Ali, his uncle, ascended the musnud. In the beginning of 1798, the governor-general, who had been raised to the peerage by the title of lord Teignmouth, set sail for England, and was succeeded by the earl of Mornington, afterwards created marquis Wellesley.

At this period, Tippoo Sultan, whose spirit of hostility remained unabated, had recruited his forces, and continued active in his intrigues with the French, the Mahrattas, and a party discontented with the English, at the court of Hyderabad: the nizam, reduced in strength and reputation, no longer placed the same confidence as formerly in our government; but being disappointed in hopes which he had been led to entertain by lord Cornwallis, had thrown himself into the hands of a French faction highly dangerous to the British government. The power of Dowlut Row Sindia had arrived

at an alarming height, being acknowledged paramount over almost all the Mahratta territories: it had completely annihilated the independence of the peishwah's government, who exercised only a nominal rule in Poonah, under one of Sindia's officers; and thus the strength and resources of that state also became adverse to the English. Several opportunities had been omitted of checking the growth of Sindia's enormous power; but that system of neutral policy, which was prescribed by the authorities at home, had been closely followed by the late governor; and thus no attempt was made to avert or influence the changes at Poonah, or to improve our alliance with the family of Sindia. 'Those who support this system,' observes Sir John Malcolm,¹⁰ 'must suppose that the legislature, when it imposed restrictions on ambition, and prohibited a policy which had conquest and extension of territory for its object, meant to deprive the local government of all power to adopt preventive measures against dangers which it might see in progress; and prescribe, as a political maxim to a great state, a total disregard to the concerns of its neighbors; in other words, to deny to it the exercise of that influence and power, which its previous wisdom and courage had acquired.'

The merits of this system were fully tried during the administration of Sir John Shore; and the result of the experiment proved, that no ground of political advantage could be abandoned, without being instantly occupied by an enemy; and that to resign influence, was not merely to resign power, but to transfer it into hands hostile to the British government. By such a system of inaction that government remained stationary, while all around it advanced; and being denied the means of adapting its policy to a change of circumstances, it lost the confidence of its allies, while it encouraged the presumption of native powers, who ascribed its policy to weakness rather than to moderation.

The new governor arrived in Bengal on the seventeenth of May, 1798, at a period when the hostile designs of Tippoo were almost ready for execution; while the courts of the nizam and Sindia were under the influence of a French party, and that of Berar was adverse to the British government. The country of Oude, and the Carnatic, were also in a very disturbed state: in addition to which difficulties, our finances were greatly exhausted by the equipment of large armaments

¹⁰ History of India, vol. i. p. 190.

for the reduction of the Dutch settlements. Lord Mornington had scarcely landed at Calcutta, when an overt act of hostility on the part of Tippoo, and French intrigues at Hyderabad, demanded all his exertion: but his comprehensive mind led him to reject every temporary and delusive measure of pacification. Taking a general view of the British power in India, and embracing the whole system of policy which it required, he proceeded to adopt measures for the introduction of that system, and combined with it the means requisite for averting present danger.

The triple alliance formed by lord Cornwallis,¹¹ as a barrier against the future attempts of Tippoo, had decayed through the neutral policy of the British government; and the courts of Poonah and Hyderabad were likely to act against us, in case of a rupture with the tyrant of Mysore: to recover therefore the efficient aid of those two powers, or at least to prevent their hostility, was the grand aim of lord Mornington. His first attempt was directed toward the court of Hyderabad, which had engaged a large body of well-disciplined French troops in its service; and by means of Azeem ul Omrah, the nizam's chief minister, he succeeded in forming an improved alliance with that potentate: at the same time, the foreign troops in his service, amounting to 14,000 men, with a train of artillery, and an arsenal filled with military stores, were completely disarmed. Negotiations were also carried on at Poonah, and the measures taken at Hyderabad regularly communicated to the peishwah; but that prince, influenced by weak counsellors, or acting under the control of Dowlut Row Sindia, absolutely refused to acknowledge the right of the British government to arbitrate in his disputes; and after a negotiation, marked by evasion on the part of the peishwah, and duplicity on that of Sindia, the governor-general was obliged to proceed in his operations against the sultan, without any satisfactory settlement with those chiefs.

No long time elapsed before the hostile designs of Tippoo became manifest: the whole tenor of his proceedings, since the peace concluded with lord Cornwallis, had exhibited an implacable spirit of revenge against the British government: his intrigues at Hyderabad, his embassies to Poonah, to the Mauritius, Persia, and Turkey, all resulted from the same spirit, although no overt act had taken place before the arrival of lord

¹¹ Between the nizam, the peishwah, and Great Britain.

Mornington. Immediately after that period, a dispute arose respecting a boundary in Wynaud;¹² on which occasion, the impropriety of Tippoo's moving a body of troops toward the districts in dispute, had been noticed in such conciliatory terms, that the sultan had no pretext to complain: it was, therefore, with astonishment, that the governor-general in June 1798, heard of the arrival of Mysorean ambassadors at the isle of France; and of the proclamation there issued, inviting volunteers to enter into the service of their master, who was represented as ready to commence an attack on the English in concert with the French government: having instituted a strict inquiry into these proceedings, and being convinced that the object of Tippoo was no other than that avowed in his correspondence with the enemy, to expel the British from all their Indian possessions, he could not but consider this admission of French forces into Mysore, as an unequivocal desire, if not a declaration of war: having, therefore, taken all precautionary measures which good policy dictated, he addressed a letter to the sultan, expostulating on the system adopted by that prince, and requesting him to explain fully those means which might banish distrust, and establish a good understanding permanently between them. To be prepared, however, for every event, lord Mornington determined to proceed in person to Madras; so that, being near the scene of negociation or military operations, he might avoid the evils of delay: he accordingly informed Tippoo of this resolution; and having reached Fort St. George on the thirty-first of December, he there found a reply to his former letter from the sultan.¹³

The character drawn of this tyrant by an accurate and impartial observer, will account for the evasive nature of the communication, now made to the governor-general, as well as for the unsatisfactory conclusion of the correspondence. 'Cruelty and deceit,' says Sir Thomas Munro,¹⁴ 'were the two great engines of his policy; not that kind of deceit which attempts to overreach by cunning, but downright lying: he, perhaps, never made a promise, or entered into an engagement, without

¹² Sir John Malcolm's History of India, vol. i. p. 212.

¹³ In this reply, he repeated his former professions of unalterable friendship for the English; expressed his bad opinion of the French; and asserted, that the reputed embassy to the Mauritius was merely a mercantile speculation of his subjects, &c. Sir John Malcolm's History, vol. i. p. 223.

¹⁴ See the Life of that officer, vol. i. p. 219.

considering, at the same instant, how it was to be broken.' It was not till the month of February, 1799, that the governor-general found himself compelled to abandon all hopes of an amicable adjustment,¹⁵ and to move forward the forces which he had prepared to defeat the designs of the enemy: these consisted in two formidable armies; one under general Stuart, at Bombay; the other under general Harris, at Madras; which latter was supported by a body of troops from the nizam; while an independent corps, collected in Baramahl under colonel Read, was ready to facilitate the operations of the grand army, by supplying it with provisions and stores. General Harris was still empowered to treat with the sultan, if he showed a sincere desire for peace, though the terms were of course to depend on the stage of the war at which negotiations might commence: this, however, was scarcely to be expected from one so inveterate in his hatred of the British, stimulated to revenge by his most intimate connexions,¹⁶ and supported in his resolutions by the confident assurances of French officers.

The sultan, as soon as he perceived the advanced state of preparations made against him, hastened to attack general Stuart's army, which was in the country of Coorg, and ready to co-operate in the reduction of his capital: he had obtained accurate information of the paths leading through the woods, to the rear of the advanced brigade, which he intended to assail; and the first intimation which the British general had of his design, was the unexpected sight of his tents: even then he did not believe that Tippoo himself was there, but only an inconsiderable detachment. 'If the sultan,' says Sir Thomas Munro,¹⁷ 'had not been so foolish as to show himself by pitching his tents at Periapatam; had he remained that day in the open air, and marched early next morning against colonel

¹⁵ The terms contemplated were, the establishment of the company's residents at Seringapatam, the dismissal of the French troops in his service, and the perpetual exclusion of Frenchmen from his armies and dominions.

¹⁶ 'He was continually urged to war,' says Sir Thomas Munro, 'by Seid Saheb, who, being his father-in-law, could take that liberty. In private conferences, when only a secretary was present, he used to ask him, how long they were to sit down quietly under disgrace and calamity; and to tell him, that he had considered him dead as a prince, from the day when he surrendered half his country.' vol. i. p. 217.

¹⁷ Vol. i. p. 217.

Montresor's brigade, he would without doubt have cut it off, and, probably, a large part of the army.' Being repulsed, however, in this attack with great loss, his next object was to obstruct the march of general Harris, whom he met between Sultanpet and Malavelly on the twenty-seventh of March: a partial action then took place, which terminated in Tippoo's defeat, and immediate retreat to Seringapatam: after this, the English army advanced without any opposition; and, on the fifth of April, took up its ground for the siege of the capital. On the fourteenth, the Bombay division effected a junction; but on the eighteenth, the alarming discovery was made, that provisions for eighteen days only, at half allowance, remained in the camp: operations therefore were prosecuted with the utmost vigor. On the ninth of April, the sultan had sent a letter to general Harris, to know the cause of hostilities; and the answer referred him to letters which he had before received from the governor-general, fully explaining the subject. No reply was sent till the twentieth, when the operations of the siege were far advanced: he then requested a conference with some confidential agent, for the purpose of restoring peace: the general replied, by sending a draught of the treaty which he had been instructed to conclude under such circumstances of advantage: then all communication ceased; and the tyrant placed his sole confidence on being able to hold out till the Cavery should fill, or his enemies be obliged to raise the siege for want of provisions. At this period, he seldom went to his palace, but spent most of his time sitting within a cavalier,¹⁸ or visiting the ramparts, according to the incidents of the siege. The angle of the fort where the attack was made, was of such a nature, that an intrenchment to isolate it might easily have been effected; and this measure was counselled by his most judicious officers: but he seemed to have lost all his wonted energy since the last communication of general Harris; and in that state of stupor he continued, till a breach was nearly made in his fortress. The effect produced by the artillery of the besiegers was concealed from him by the principal officers; until one of his servants, impatient at hearing their false reports, called out, that a breach was made, and would soon be practicable: this intelligence seemed to rouse him: on the following morning, he repaired thither; and having viewed with amazement the condition of the wall, shook his head, and returned to his old station behind the cavalier, where

¹⁸ A raised work on the fortifications.

he remained buried in thought. Bigoted as he was, his apprehensions induced him to invite the aid of Hindoo prayers and ceremonies to avert impending calamity; and to send for an astrologer, who might draw, if possible, favorable omens from the stars: the aspect of Mars, however, was declared to be unfavorable; and the sultan was recommended to propitiate the fates by the prescribed oblations. On the last morning of his life, in pursuance of these directions, he went to the palace, bathed, and presented the oblations: he, besides, attempted to ascertain the aspect of his fortunes, by observing the form of his face reflected from a jar of oil; and drank water out of a black stone as a charm against misfortune: about noon, he sat down to his repast; but before he had finished it, a report was brought that the assault had commenced; on which, he ordered the troops to stand to their arms, and, with his body guard, hastened to the outer ramparts.

The hour of one was destined for the attack, when the natives are accustomed to repose after their noonday meal; but to prevent the enemy from being put on their guard, the troops were placed in the trenches before daylight, where they remained in silent and awful expectation of the signal. Their appointed leader was that distinguished officer, major-general Baird, who had solicited the dangerous service; and the sight of those walls within which he had been immured nearly four years, with the prospect of avenging the wrongs which he had seen and suffered, excited in his mind a degree of animation, which communicated itself to his followers. At length, the moment of assault arrived: the troops crossed the rocky bed of the Cavery, under a severe fire; a forlorn hope advanced to the breach, where it was met by a small, but gallant band of Mysoreans: the greater portion of both fell in the struggle; but in less than seven minutes, the British colors were seen floating on the walls.

It had been agreed, that as soon as the assailants mounted the rampart, one half should wheel to the right and the other to the left, so as to meet over the eastern gateway: the right, led by general Baird, met with little resistance; but the left were vigorously opposed: its commander, colonel Dunlop, had received a wound in the ascent; and the sultan passed the nearest traverse as the column quitted the beach: a succession of well-constructed traverses were stoutly defended, and a flanking fire of musketry from the inner rampart greatly annoyed the assailants; but nothing could withstand the gallantry of British soldiers: the enemy was forced from one

traverse to another, till they perceived the column which had advanced to the right, over the eastern gate, ready to fall on their rear; when they broke, and hastened to escape. The sultan himself, abandoned by his followers, made his way toward an entrance of the interior fortress, called the water-gate, but received a musket-ball in his right side: in this passage, his horse fell; the road was choked up; and almost every soul in the gateway was slain. Though he had received several wounds, he still breathed, and continued alive for more than an hour: at last, a soldier, passing in quest of plunder, offered to pull off the rich sword-belt of the sultan; but, having retained his sabre, Tippoo made a cut with all his remaining strength, and wounded him in the knee; on which the man raised his musket to his shoulder, and shot him through the head, the ball entering his right temple, and passing through the left jaw. It was for a long time thought that he had concealed himself in the palace; and parties were anxiously searching it, in order to put him to death for the murder of nine Europeans, who had fallen into his hands on the fifth of April: at length, his killedar protested that the sultan had fallen at the water-gate. As it was then dark, a party proceeded with lights to the search; his palanquin was found, and under it the rajah khan, one of Tippoo's confidential servants, who had been wounded, and who pointed out the spot where his master fell. After many bodies had been dragged out, that of the sultan was discovered and conveyed to the palace: having been exposed to public view all next day, in order that no doubts might remain as to his death, it was buried, with military honors, in the superb mausoleum of his father, Hyder Ali.

Thus ended the short-lived dynasty, founded by a daring adventurer on the ruins of the Hindoo house of Mysore. Tippoo fell in his forty-seventh year; from his earliest youth deceitful, cruel, and intractable. 'If he had qualities fitted for empire,' says colonel Wilks, 'they were strangely equivocal; the disqualifications were obvious and unquestionable: nor will the decision of history be far removed from the observation, almost proverbial in Mysore, that Hyder was born to create an empire, Tippoo to lose one.'

The English were now masters of Mysore; but the momentous question still remained—how to dispose of it? The plan adopted by the governor-general was a partition of the country between the English and their allies, on the principle of indemnification and security, with a reserve of territory

for a pageant rajah of the old Hindoo dynasty ; since no tranquillity could be expected under the reign of Tippoo's heir. Having appropriated to themselves the whole territory possessed by the sultan on the Malabar coast, the company ceded to their ally, the nizam, a tract yielding an equal revenue, in the districts of Gooty, Gorumcondah, and the country lying along a line of the great forts of Chittledroog, Sera, Nundidroog, and Colar, but without the possession of those fortresses. The share reserved for the Poonah government, on certain conditions, comprised Harponelly, Soondah, Anna-goody, with part of the territory of Chittledroog and Bednore ; but as the peishwah, under the dictation of Dowlut Row Sindia, declined the alliance proposed to him, the reserved territory was shared between the company and the nizam. As soon as the sons and family of Tippoo Sultan were removed to Vellore, where an establishment of great magnificence was secured to them, Kistna Rai Oudawer, a child three years old, was raised to the ancient throne of his ancestors ; Purneah, a Brahmin of great ability and reputation, who had been chief financial minister of Tippoo, being made dewan to the young prince : at the same time, Sir Barry Close was appointed political resident, supported by the military co-operation of the honorable colonel Wellesley.¹⁹ There was no double government or conflicting authority ; but every office, civil and military, was left to be filled by natives : thus the submission and gratitude of the people was secured ; and the governor was enabled to dismiss the nizam with a less share of Tippoo's spoils, than if the English had taken without disguise what was thus adroitly brought under their dominion.

The jealous and hostile spirit of the Mahrattas, as well as the conflicts with which the southern part of the peninsula was threatened from the distracted state of the peishwah's government, strongly pointed out the necessity of adding to the efficiency of our alliance with the nizam : to secure this important point, nothing appeared more desirable than to augment the number of our subsidiary forces, and to commute his monthly payment of subsidy for a cession of territory ; by which means an end would be put to that recurrence of irritation, which always attends pecuniary payments from sordid or profligate courts : thus the resources for supporting an important force would be more directly in the hands of the British government ; and any future subahdar of the Deccan

¹⁹ The present duke of Wellington.

would be less desirous of dissolving the connexion. This treaty was concluded on the twelfth of October, 1800. The revenue of the ceded territories was about 17,580,000 pagodas; but their local situation greatly increased the security of the company's possessions on the Coromandel coast, as well as their later acquisitions in Mysore. In this year, lord Mornington equipped an expedition to Egypt; a considerable force, under Sir David Baird, was sent up the Red Sea, and marched from Suez to Alexandria; presenting the unusual spectacle of a British army, composed chiefly of the natives of India, on the shores of the Mediterranean. When the governor-general returned to Calcutta, one of the most important objects of his policy was to reduce part of the mutinous and useless military establishment of the nabob of Oude, and to increase the efficient force supplied by the company, for the purpose of defending that province, which was much exposed to foreign attack, as well as internal tumults. Saadut Ali, however, either from weakness, or the wicked designs of the interested rabble surrounding him, was induced to offer serious obstacles to this measure; but all difficulties were surmounted by the inflexible perseverance of the marquis Wellesley,²⁰ who at length concluded a treaty, by which the territories of the company were interposed, as a barrier, between the dominions of the vizir and foreign foes; while the actual net receipts from these districts did not exceed what he had previously paid as a fixed subsidy, and fell below the sum to which he had become liable under the treaty concluded by lord Teignmouth. The company found ample remuneration in the cessation of disputes, in the substitution of its own troops for those of the vizir, and in the prospect of an augmented revenue, under a better management, from provinces ruined by misrule and oppression.

In like manner, the affairs of the Carnatic were satisfactorily arranged: when his lordship arrived at Madras, in 1799, to prosecute the war against Tippoo, he found the nabob of the Carnatic, Omdut ul Omrah, acting more like an enemy than a friend; and soon after the capture of Seringapatam, documents were discovered among the secret records of the sultan, exhibiting evidence of a secret intercourse which he had been carrying on with that chieftain, for purposes hostile to the British government, and in direct violation of treaty. The governor, in the first instance, contented himself with ordering

²⁰ He was raised to this rank in December, 1799.

the Madras government to prosecute inquiries into the nabob's conduct, while he transmitted to England proofs of his correspondence with Tippoo : at the same time, he directed that no decisive steps should be taken unless the nabob should die ; an event, which was not improbable from the bad state of his health : in that case, they were authorised to raise one of two persons to the musnud — Ali Hussein, the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah ; or Azeem u Dowla, the acknowledged son of Ameer ul Omrah ; but under the previous condition of resigning to the company the civil and military administration of the Carnatic, while he received an annual stipend adequate to the support of his rank.

The result of the inquiry instituted by lord Clive, then governor of Madras, went to establish the treachery of Omdut ul Omrah ; and the report strongly recommended the assumption of the government of the Carnatic, under certain provisions : the governor-general, however, contented himself with instructing his lordship to negotiate a treaty with the nabob ; and to make him acquainted with the proofs of his treachery, then in the hands of the British government, for the purpose of procuring his consent to the terms proposed. At this time, however, the state of the nabob's health prevented lord Clive from taking any immediate steps ; but he soon had occasion to send a body of troops, to occupy the palace, on the approach of his highness's decease, to preserve order and to prevent pillage. On the fifteenth of July, 1801, the nabob expired ; when a conference was immediately held with the two guardians of Ali Hussein ; but as no terms could be made with them on the basis proposed, it was found necessary to see Ali Hussein, and receive from him in person the final answer to a proposal, in which his interests were so deeply concerned. After great difficulty, this interview was obtained ; and the youth, then eighteen years of age, was introduced to colonel Close and Mr. Webbe, the two British commissioners, by whom he was informed of all that had passed with his guardians ; and by their advice he professed that he would be guided : he afterwards had a conference with lord Clive, to whom he stated that he had been deceived by his guardians, and that he was willing to conclude a treaty on the proposed terms ; but after communication with those nobles, he retracted all that he said, declaring his fixed resolution to abide by their decision. On this, lord Clive, in a second interview, left no argument untried to convince the youth that he was misled to his own ruin ; but in vain ; for Ali Hussein re-

mained immovable; so that colonel Close and Mr. Webbe were deputed to open negotiations with the prince Azeem u Dowla: the access to him, however, was of no small difficulty, as he was kept in rigorous confinement; and there was reason to fear for his life, if his intended elevation should be disclosed. In this case, accident removed the difficulty: Ali Hussein's guardians, impatient of delay, placed that prince on the musnud privately; on which, the company's troops were ordered instantly to occupy the palace; when Azeem u Dowla was liberated; and, after two interviews with the commissioners, he concluded a treaty on the twenty-fifth of July, and obtained possession of the throne. The most splendid achievement, however, of lord Wellesley's policy remains still to be described.

From the conclusion of the treaty of Salbhye, the Mahrattas had respected our territories and those of our allies, which we were bound to protect; particularly, as in one quarter only, that of Oude, their respective boundaries were contiguous: besides, both Madhajee Sindia, and his successor, Dowlut Row Sindia, had been too intent on consolidating their power in Hindostan to offend the company by any encroachment on its ally: but the causes of this forbearance were now removed; and that neutrality, which we thought recompensed by temporary exemption from attack, left us, in its result, exposed to imminent danger.¹

In the other quarters of India our territories had long been remote from those of the Mahrattas; but when our course of policy led us to form a closer alliance with the nizam, and to take the country of the Mysore under our protection, we virtually succeeded to all the local and political relations which subsisted between the Mahrattas and those states; and as scarcely a year had ever passed without witnessing disputes, and as the causes of such disputes were interwoven in the very system of Mahratta government; there was no way for us to avoid them, except by abandoning treaties and conquests, or by effecting a change in the Mahratta system of government. Of these methods, that which united at once honor and security was the latter; and the divided state of the Mahratta empire afforded some prospect of success.

The first and most necessary step to be taken was an alliance with the peishwah, which should not only secure him in the enjoyment of his hereditary possessions, but give him an

¹ See History of India, by Sir John Malcolm.

interest in preserving the peace of the Deccan ; for without this, we could maintain no engagements with the court of Hyderabad or of Mysore, unless by the ruinous expedient of keeping up a large army on the frontiers. In the beginning of 1801, the occurrence of war between Jeswunt Row Holkar and Sindia had obliged the latter to move from Poonah ; and the distraction which this event created among the Mahratta states seemed to offer a favorable opportunity of alliance : indeed, the peishwah himself proposed such a measure ; but the conditions annexed to it, the sole object of which was to re-establish his power, without admitting our government to the exercise of that influence which was necessary for the security of itself and its allies, soon broke off all negociation. During the contest which took place in 1802, between Dowlut Row Sindia and Holkar, the peishwah joined the former, whose army sustained a signal defeat near Poonah on the twenty-fifth of October : the peishwah, Badjerow, then fled from his capital, after sending to colonel Close, the British resident, a writing, sealed with his own signet ; in which he consented, for the sake of British protection, to receive a subsidiary force, and to cede territory, either in Guzerat, or in his southern dominions, producing a revenue of twenty-six lacs of rupees : this proceeding led to the treaty of Bassein, by which the British government bound itself to furnish the peishwah with six battalions of native infantry, and a park of artillery with European gunners. All claims on Surat, and the districts under our protection in Guzerat, were finally adjusted ; while the peishwah bound himself to abide by the arbitration of the company in his unsettled disputes with the subahdar of the Deccan, and to discharge from his service natives of any nation hostile to the English.

To facilitate the complete execution of this treaty, the Madras army, under general Stuart, advanced to the Toombuddra ; while general Wellesley moved forward in co-operation, with a subsidiary force from the Deccan, under colonel Stevenson, and reached Poonah on the twentieth of April, 1803. The troops of Holkar fled at his approach, and the peishwah was restored to his throne on the thirteenth of May. The prospect, however, of concluding this great measure of policy without a war soon appeared clouded by the advance of Dowlut Row Sindia and the bhonselah or rajah of Berar, toward the frontiers of our ally, the nizam ; as well as by evasions, with which these chiefs treated the different proposals offered by the British resident at Sindia's court. This potentate had no

objection to the interference of the British government for the restoration of the peishwah's power, as long as he saw a prospect of its being usurped by Holkar, or thought that our policy might aid his efforts for the destruction of his rival; but when he found that Holkar had retired, and the peishwah was restored without his assistance, he altered his plans, and determined to resist the treaty which he at first approved: he therefore concerted measures with the bhonselah, who had never been cordial with the British government, and was known to cherish hopes of obtaining the office of peishwah for himself. After a strange course of menace and dissimulation on his side, and the most earnest endeavors to preserve peace on a firm basis by the governor-general, the British resident left the camp of Sindia on the third of August, and hostilities commenced on the eighth by general Wellesley's attack of the fortress of Ahmednugur. Long and painful were the negotiations that preceded a war, the justice and necessity of which can be denied only by those who deny the wisdom of that policy which destroyed the inveterate enemy of our name, Tippoo Sultan; for without acquiring an influence in the councils of the Poonah state, we never could have fulfilled the engagements in which the Mysorean war had involved us. To detail the military operations between the British government and these Mahratta chiefs, in which the future conqueror of Napoleon displayed those abilities which afterwards astonished all Europe, would be inconsistent with our prescribed limits: they continued only five months; but were marked by a succession of the most brilliant and decisive victories. The battles of Delhi, Assye,² and Arghaum, the reduction of Agra, Allyghur, Gwalior, and other strong forts, with a number of inferior conquests, were crowded into that short, eventful period; and the confederated chiefs were at length compelled to escape, by negociation and submission, that ruin which their arms were unable to avert. The rajah of Berar first came to terms on the seventeenth of December, 1803, ceding Cuttack to the company; and all his share of the provinces of Berar, westward of the Wurdah, to the nizam;

² 'In the conduct of this great battle,' says a very acute observer, 'every thing was right: general Wellesley gave to every part of his army its full share; left no part of it unemployed; but supported, sometimes with cavalry, sometimes with infantry, every point that was pressed, at the very moment that it was most necessary.'—Life of Sir T. Munro, vol. i. p. 354.

engaging to keep in his service no enemy of England, while the company undertook to arbitrate all differences between him, the nizam, and the peishwah. Soon afterwards Sindia also negotiated a peace; by which he ceded to the company his territories in Hindostan, north of Jypore, Joudpore, and Gohud, with the fort and territory of Baroach, as well as all lands south of Adjunttee; renouncing every claim on the company, or their allies, the nizam, the peishwah, and the family of Gwickar in Guzerat. This connexion with Sindia was cemented by a defensive alliance in February, 1804, similar to that of Poonah; by which he became intitled to the assistance of six battalions of sepoy.

But the Mahrattas were not yet subdued. Holkar, during the progress of hostilities, had remained in Malwah, levying enormous contributions both on friends and foes, and scarcely crediting the accounts which he received of the rapid victories of the British; so that the time for co-operation had passed by, when he showed his hostile designs, by moving up toward the Jypore territory, to solicit aid from the rajpoots, the rajah of Bhurtpore, and the Seiks: he also despatched an envoy to Sindia, urging him to break his engagements with the company; but that chieftain was at this time so exasperated against him, that he disclosed the fact to the British resident: farther correspondence of a hostile nature was discovered; but, as it was scarcely deemed credible that he meditated war, he received an invitation to send commissioners to general Lake's head-quarters at Ramghur, for the purpose of an amicable arrangement: when they came, they made such extravagant demands, that they were dismissed with a proper rebuke to their master. In the mean time, he made an attack, though it proved unsuccessful, on a fortress belonging to Sindia, now one of the company's allies; and he afterwards commenced plundering the territories of the rajah of Jypore: at length, the governor-general, fully apprised of his insolent demands and equivocal proceedings, issued orders to generals Lake and Wellesley to march against him with all their forces. The principal conduct of this war fell on general Lake, who conducted it with consummate skill, though its great success was chequered by some serious reverses: these, however, did not prevent the destruction of Holkar's power from being effected before the close of lord Wellesley's administration. The battle of Deeg was fatal to his regular infantry and artillery; and that of Futtyghur intirely broke the spirit of his cavalry: the strongest of his fortresses, Chandore and Gaulnah, were

also taken; and although he had found means to involve Sindia again in the quarrel, this rapacious boaster, in April, 1805, retreated across the Chumbul, with an army reduced, from 40,000 cavalry, 20,000 infantry, and more than 200 pieces of cannon, to a miserable remnant of 10,000 horse, and 5000 foot; and though peace was not immediately concluded with him, his future efforts served only to show how completely he had been depressed.

Lord Wellesley left India on the twentieth of August, 1805, soon after the marquis Cornwallis, who had been appointed to succeed him, had arrived at Fort William. A glance at the state of India, when his departure took place, will show how completely the wise and enlarged measures of his policy were fulfilled. The designs of the French against the British government, as far as they relied on its Indian subjects, were intirely defeated. The old emperor of Delhi, who had been long in the hands of the Mahrattas, and latterly of the French party, now enjoyed repose under British protection. Secunder Jah, nizam or subahdar of the Deccan, who succeeded his father in 1803, was confirmed in a steady alliance with the company, maintaining a strong subsidiary force, and greatly augmented in territory by the cessions of Berar: the cruel government of Tippoo Sultan was annihilated, and the family, whose throne had been usurped by Hyder Ali, restored; while the reduction of the Mahratta chiefs, Sindia, the bhonselah, and Holkar, gave a security to the Deccan, which it had not enjoyed for ages: besides, the British government was established over the whole of the Duab, and along the right bank of the Jumna; whilst a line of small states, from the mountains of Cumaoun to Bundelcund, were established as a barrier against the future incursions of the Mahrattas: the rich province of Bundelcund was subdued; and the countries ceded by the vizir in 1801, were completely settled, and greatly improved in revenue, to that prince's own satisfaction. Thus the general result of lord Wellesley's administration changed the whole face of affairs; giving a new character to the British power in India, which became paramount to every other: for the discontent of Sindia, and the continued hostility of Holkar, scarcely affect the question; since the condition of those chiefs was such as to preclude any apprehension of evil from their attacks, beyond a short continuation of embarrassment in the finances, which had been unavoidable, but which would be merely temporary, in consequence of the improving revenue and great reductions commenced by the governor-general. A

considerable degree of excitement was raised in England by indistinct and exaggerated fears, from partial and distorted statements of his policy : he had been sent out to annihilate French influence in India ; and, in accomplishing that object, he had been, as it were, compelled to effect conquests : but this was a forbidden enterprise ; discouraged by the British legislature, and even branded as criminal : he had been entrusted with a commission, which it was impossible to execute without exceeding it ; and he was condemned for his very success. These feelings were rendered more general among persons connected with the company, by the alarming increase of their debt : but truth in the end prevailed ; and of all the eminent men who have administered our affairs in the East, no one has acquired a larger share of admiration than the nobleman, whose conduct we have been considering : yet at this period popular clamor was loud ; and not only the directors, but even ministers participated in the prejudice against him ; so that the return of the marquis Cornwallis was solicited on all sides, as if the safety of the country depended on his presence. Though the health of that venerable nobleman was now declining under accumulated years and infirmities, he still felt the enthusiasm which belongs to a good man, at the prospect of rendering a last service to his country : accordingly, he bade adieu to his native shores ; and hastened to that land, which had been formerly distinguished by his government, and in which he was destined soon to lay his bones.

The present year was rendered memorable on the continent of Europe by the efforts of the new coalition. The French, as we have seen, had totally changed the system of war : their tactics consisted in pressing the enemy without intermission ; seeking opportunities to engage ; and keeping their forces in a compact body, instead of dividing them to invest cities and fortresses : the present plan of the directory was similar to that formerly pursued ; the invasion of the hereditary states of Austria, and the junction of the French armies under the walls of Vienna : for this purpose, it was intended that the army of the Danube, consisting of 65,000 men, under Jourdan, should cross the Rhine, traverse the defiles of the Black Forest, and, extending itself into Suabia, turn the lake of Constance and the southern part of the Tyrol ; that the army of Switzerland, under Massena, should drive the Austrians from the country of the Grisons, and attack the Tyrol in front, seizing on the valleys of the Leck and the Inn ; also that the army of Italy should penetrate into Germany through either the Tyrol or

Friuli. A Russian force of 60,000 men, commanded by the celebrated Suwarrof, had arrived at Brunn in Moravia, about the middle of December; and the rulers of the republic ordered their plenipotentiaries at Radstadt to remonstrate against its advance; declaring that the entrance of Russian troops within the limits of the empire would amount to a dissolution of the congress, and destroy all hopes of a solid peace between France and Germany: their march, however, was not discontinued; and the flames of war again burst forth.

In the beginning of March, Jourdan, having crossed the Rhine, advanced towards the Danube; and, whilst Bernadotte blockaded the fortress of Philipsburg, Mannheim opened its gates to another body of French troops: on the twentieth, however, the archduke Charles determined to engage his adversary, and the day was contested with great bravery on both sides, Jourdan maintaining his position till night put an end to the conflict; when he retreated to a station near Engen. On the twenty-fifth, a second action was fought on the plain of Lieblingen, in the midst of woods; when night again separating the combatants, left the victory undecided: next morning the invaders renewed their attack; being, however, again foiled, Jourdan, after sustaining a loss of 4000 men, retreated before his antagonist, and recrossed the Rhine at Lauttemburg and Strasburg; after which Massena was appointed generalissimo of the whole French force from the Alpine frontiers of Italy to Mentz. The troops under his own immediate command had made considerable advances into the country of the Grisons; but after Jourdan's retreat, the force sent from the Austrian army of the Danube rendered the imperialists so strong, that he found it expedient to retire to the left bank of the Rhine: the future operations, however, in Switzerland were so much affected by events in Italy, that it is necessary to turn our attention to the affairs of that country.

The French forces there were distributed into two armies, that of Italy and that of Naples; the latter being not only in possession of the capital and conquered parts of the Neapolitan dominions, but also of Rome, and the different states of the church.

If the directory had sought out a leader to act as a foil to Buonaparte on the theatre of that general's grand exploits, they could not have succeeded better, than when they placed Scherer in command of the army of Italy. Instead of passing the Adige, he manœuvred with vague intention, was beaten

by Kray, and driven back in less than a month to the Oglio and the Adda ; where, conscious of his incapacity, he delivered up the command of his army to Moreau : but it was too late even for that able general to retrieve the campaign : Suwarrof had arrived with his Russians, and forced the passage of the Adda, on the twenty-fifth of April. On the twenty-sixth, having surrounded Serrurier's division of 8000 men, he compelled it to surrender ; and on the twenty-ninth he entered Milan in triumph, and Moreau was hunted to the shelter of the Alps. On the twenty-seventh of May, Turin, the great dépôt of the French, was taken with 260 pieces of cannon, besides immense stores ; and Moreau was finally chased through the Apennines : but the Aulic council was the bane of Russian, as well as Austrian valor : by its order, the archduke was rendered inactive ; and Suwarrof, to his great indignation, was directed to disperse his army in the siege of Italian fortresses. Moreau, taking advantage of this signal folly, occupied a post in the Apennines, to await the arrival of Macdonald, who had evacuated Naples and Rome, and was advancing to his assistance. A plan was formed between these two generals, for both to descend from the Apennines into the plain near Piacenza ; and, having effected a junction, to fall on the rear of the Austrians, surprise their scattered corps, and destroy them in succession. This junction, however, either from the tardiness of one general or the impetuosity of the other, never took place ; and Macdonald, issuing alone from the mountains, routed the first Austrian division with which he came into contact : but Suwarrof, who had divined the intentions of Moreau, made a retrograde movement ; and Macdonald found himself on the banks of the Trebia, in presence of an overwhelming force of Austrians and Russians. Though retreat would have been prudent, he stood his ground, and gave battle to Suwarrof : the contest was renewed for three successive days, and even night brought no cessation to the carnage ; but the French were finally defeated with great slaughter, not a general officer escaping without a wound : nor did they suffer much less in the pursuit that followed. Joubert, in whom the directory hoped to find a rival of Buonaparte, was now commissioned to take the field against Suwarrof : he had just espoused a youthful bride ; and his parting promise to her was ' to conquer or perish.' Crossing the Alps with reinforcements, he rallied the remainder of Moreau's and Macdonald's forces ; but was still inferior to his antagonist, to whom Mantua and the other principal fortresses of Italy had

surrendered. Joubert, however, bent on acting an heroic part, gave battle to the Russian general at Novi: it was fought on the fifteenth of August, with obstinacy, though with little skill, on either side. Suwarrof, superior in forces, attacked his adversary on all sides; and while Joubert advanced in front to encourage his men, a ball pierced his heart: his dying words were an exhortation to his troops; but all was in vain: 10,000 men lay dead on the field of battle, and 4000 were taken prisoners. After this defeat, Moreau resumed the command, and succeeded in bringing off the shattered remnant of the army of Italy.

In Switzerland, Massena, behind the Limmat, the lake of Zurich, and the Lint, was held in check by the archduke Charles: but even this great general hesitated to attack so active an opponent without a manifest advantage; and the Aulic council, thinking that the impetuous Russians would act with more vigor, ordered Suwarrof to advance into Switzerland, while Korsakof, another Russian general, took the archduke's place on the Limmat. Massena instantly saw his advantage in this change; and crossing the Limmat, threw a force of 40,000 men on Korsakof, who had no more than 25,000 concentrated in Zurich. A desperate engagement took place in the streets and suburbs of that city; and though a large body of Russians forced their way through the enemy, yet more than one half of Korsakof's army was taken or slain. Soult also was successful on the Lint; and these actions took place toward the close of September, when Suwarrof was forcing the passage of Mount St. Gothard. He had expected to come on the flank of the French, while they were pressed on the front; but when he arrived in the valley, the forces with which he was to have co-operated were repulsed, and there was no alternative but to retreat, in the first instance, through the dreadful defile of the Shachenthal, abandoning his artillery and baggage; while the whole army advanced in single file, dragging the beasts of burden after them. Numbers slipped down the precipices, and perished miserably; others, worn out by fatigue, lay down on the track, to be trodden under foot by the advancing multitude, or fell into the hands of the French general Lecourbe, who pressed them closely: at times, the troops would refuse to proceed; and then Suwarrof would order a pit to be dug, fling himself into it, and desire them to march over his body, and to desert in those solitudes the commander who had so often led them on to victory: after severe losses, the army arrived at the Muten, and hoped to find rest after their

toils in the cottages: but the French successes had enabled Massena and Molitor to combine in a general pursuit of Suwarroff's retreating army; the Austrians, on whom he depended, had retired; and he found that he had only reached the Muenthal to be exposed to destruction by his foes. The enemy's brigades were soon seen on the crests of the mountains: Suwarroff called a council of war, and impetuously proposed an immediate advance to Schwytz, in the rear of the French position; but his officers urged the necessity of marching into the Grisons to rejoin the remaining division of the army; and the veteran general shed tears of indignation when the command was given. The path over the Alps of Glarus was even more rugged than that which they had passed, and which had destroyed all their horses and beasts of burden. Miseries, probably unequalled in the annals of warfare, attended this terrible march, commenced in a fall of snow, which, by obliterating the track, augmented all the natural difficulties of the passage: numbers perished under rocks, the only shelter they could find, or fell into precipices and crevices, or were buried in the drifting snow. With inconceivable toil the head of the column on the following morning attained the summit of the ridge; whence a sea of snow-clad mountains was seen to stretch as far as the eye could reach: the rest slowly followed; and about one-third of the army descended for refuge into the country of the Grisons; where Suwarroff, indignant against the Austrians, by whom he asserted that he had been betrayed, broke his sword in disgust, resigned his command, and vowed never more to serve with the imperialists: nor was it long before the emperor Paul withdrew from the confederacy.

In the Neapolitan realms, events occurred, which no British historian can recount without mortification. Corfu had surrendered to a Russian and Turkish fleet, acting, for the first time, in strange confederacy; and captain Trowbridge, having given up the blockade of Alexandria to Sir Sidney Smith, was entrusted by Nelson to commence operations against the French in the bay of Naples: meantime, cardinal Ruffo, a man of questionable character, but of a temper suited to the times, landed in Calabria, and raised an army of peasants, priests, and banditti, with which he advanced on Naples, and summoned the castles which commanded the anchorage. As the garrisons were chiefly composed of Neapolitan revolutionists, the conditions offered and accepted were, that their persons and property should be respected: the capitulation was signed by the cardinal; by the Russian and Turkish generals; and,

lastly, by captain Foote, as commander of the British force : but when Nelson, who afterwards arrived in the bay, saw a flag of truce flying on the castles, and on board the Seahorse frigate, he made a signal to annul the treaty, declaring that he would grant to rebels no terms but those of unconditional submission. Even the cardinal strongly objected to this proceeding ; nor could all the arguments of Nelson, seconded by Sir William and lady Hamilton, convince him, that a treaty, thus solemnly concluded, could be honorably set aside : he retired at last, silenced by the admiral's authority, but not convinced ; and the garrisons were delivered over to the vengeance of the Sicilian court. ' A deplorable transaction,' says Nelson's biographer ; ' a stain on his memory, and on the honor of England ! to palliate it would be vain ; to justify it would be wicked.' One of the victims of the proscription which followed the occupation of Naples, was the unfortunate prince Caraccioli, an old and distinguished admiral, who had accompanied the court to Sicily, and obtained leave to return to Naples, when its republican government issued an edict to confiscate the property of absentees : in such times, however, it was hardly possible for a man of his reputation to remain inactive : he appeared in command of the republican navy, as the sailors themselves reported, by compulsion ; but probably with an inclination to serve his country by the establishment of a better system of government than the iniquitous one of Ferdinand. When the capital surrendered, he fled ; but being taken in disguise, was brought on board lord Nelson's flagship at nine o'clock in the morning : at ten, the British admiral ordered a court-martial to sit, of which count Thorn, the particular enemy of the prisoner, was president : no witnesses could be examined in his defence, to prove the allegation that he was compelled to serve : at twelve, he was found guilty ; and, at five in the afternoon, the same day, was hanged at the yard arm of a Sicilian frigate. The unfortunate prince, having in vain sought a new trial, requested that he might be shot : ' I am an old man,' he said ; ' I leave no family behind me, and therefore cannot be supposed to be very anxious about prolonging my life ; but the disgrace of being hanged is dreadful to me.' This appeal had no effect on Nelson ; and, as a last resource, Caraccioli endeavored to interest lady Hamilton in his behalf ; but on this occasion *she was not to be seen* : at his execution, however, *she was present*. Such was the attachment of that woman, the bane of Nelson's reputation, to the vile Sicilian court ; and such the stain which an un-

hallowed passion impressed on one of the noblest characters that ever adorned the British annals. 'Naples at this time,' says Mr. Southey,³ 'exhibited more dreadful scenes than it had witnessed in the days of Massaniello: after the mob had satiated themselves with blood and plunder, the reins were given to justice;—if that can be called justice, which annuls its own stipulations; looks to naked facts alone, disregarding all motives and all circumstances; and, without considering character or science, sex or youth, sacrifices its victims, not for the public weal, but for the gratification of greedy vengeance.' This is too faithful a picture of the greater number of those old governments, for whom at this time we were lavishing the nation's blood and treasure. After the French had evacuated Naples, captain Trowbridge, who acted both by sea and land, proceeded to Capua, which soon fell; while Gaeta surrendered to captain Louis, of the *Minotaur*; and the republicans were completely driven from the Neapolitan dominions: but the court, instead of re-establishing order and good government, entered on a miserable round of follies and festivities, while the prisons echoed with groans, and the scaffolds streamed with blood: at length, satisfied with amusements and revenge, the royal cortège returned to Palermo, with the British ambassador and admiral; leaving, by the estimate of captain Trowbridge, who remained in command at Naples, relatives of more than 40,000 families immured in the prisons of that capital.

Nelson now thought that nothing was more essential to the tranquillity of Naples, than the recovery of Rome; which, as Suwarrof was driving the French out of all the northern provinces, would complete the deliverance of Italy: having, however, failed in obtaining military assistance, he determined to make the attempt by a small detachment of his fleet; and this, under the able conduct of captains Trowbridge, Hallowell, and Louis, intirely succeeded; for the French, having no longer any hope in arms, and being foiled in the arts of negociation by the blunt honesty of our naval officers,—concluded a capitulation for all the Roman states; and captain Louis, rowing up the Tiber in his barge, hoisted the British standard on the Capitol, and was installed provisional governor of Rome.

While the arms of France were thus occupied in Germany and Italy, a favorable opportunity seemed to offer itself for liberating Holland from a galling servitude; and the plan of a

³ Life of Nelson.

joint expedition was accordingly concerted between the courts of London and Petersburg. Early in August, troops were collected on the Kentish coast; and on the thirteenth of that month, Sir Ralph Abercromby, their commander, set sail from Deal with admiral Mitchell: after encountering much bad weather, the fleet came to anchor off the Helder, a point which commands the entrance of the Zuyder Zee; and the men were disembarked on the twenty-seventh. Having repulsed a body of 7000 French and Dutch, they prepared for an attack on the Helder fort next morning: it was, however, abandoned in the night; but the Dutch fleet in the Texel surrendered to the British admiral without firing a shot.

While the invading army waited for reinforcements, it was attacked by a force of about 12,000 men, on the tenth of September; but so strong was the post of the Zuyp, and so bravely was it defended, that above 800 of the assailants were killed or wounded, while not more than 200 suffered on the side of the British. On the thirteenth, the duke of York, landing with three brigades, superseded the brave and experienced Abercromby in the supreme command of the army! As the allied troops now amounted to 35,000 men, the duke ventured on active operations; and the army advanced on the nineteenth, in four columns: that on the extreme right, consisting chiefly of Russian troops under general de Hermann, made an impetuous attack, and pushed forward to Bergen, where the principal force of the enemy was placed: Abercromby's column penetrated to the city of Hoorn, whose garrison surrendered; and the two other columns, under general Dundas and Sir James Pulteney, were also successful in forcing their way through great difficulties, in a track of country intersected by deep ditches and canals; but the rash confidence of the Russians exposed them to such danger, that the retreat of the whole force soon became necessary, and the army retired to its former position. For some time, rainy and tempestuous weather prevented military operations; but on the second of October, the British army commenced an attack on the enemy's whole line. The battle of Egmont, though indecisive, was favorable to the British: evening put an end to the engagement; and the troops rested on their arms: at daybreak, however, the retreat of the enemy gave their opponents an opportunity of occupying several strong positions at Egmont-op-Hoof, Egmont-op-Zee, the Lange Dyke, Alkmaar, and Bergen: but they were precluded by fatigue from effectually harassing the republican troops, who took up a new

and strong post, between Beverwyck and the Zuyder Zee, almost at the extremity of North Holland: there the duke of York resolved to attack them, before their position could be strengthened by the erection of new works, and by the arrival of expected reinforcements. The Russians had a greater share in this action, which took place on the sixth of October, than in that preceding it; and they were so vigorously resisted, that Sir Ralph Abercromby was obliged to advance with a strong corps to their relief: the whole hostile force then put itself in motion; and the action, which became general along the line, from Limmen to the sea, terminated so far in favor of the invaders, that they were left masters of the field: but the loss on both sides was very severe; and the enemy, who soon afterwards received a reinforcement of 6000 troops, maintained their position between Beverwyck and Wyck-op-Zee.

The allied army now found itself placed in so critical a situation, as to require the highest military talents, united with the most mature experience, to conduct its future operations. Directly opposite, lay the enemy, in a position almost impregnable, and rendered confident by the accession of strength just received; while a barren and exhausted country, scarcely affording shelter for the wounded, was extended all around. The right wing of the allies was indeed protected by the ocean; but the left was threatened by a large corps, occupying an almost inaccessible position: the weather too, since the sixth, had set in with increasing severity, and the urgent necessities of the troops were supplied with extreme difficulty: beside these complicated evils, the troops lay exposed on the unsheltered sand-hills of North Holland; while the party of the stadtholder remained inactive, and apparently indifferent to their success. Under these circumstances, the duke of York, in the evening of the seventh, the night being extremely dark, and the rain descending in torrents, issued an unexpected order for the army to assemble; and at ten o'clock, the whole was in full retreat toward Pellen and Alkmaar: as they could not, however, be embarked in the presence of a superior force without a very heavy loss, the British commanders concluded an armistice with general Brune; in which it was stipulated, that the combined English and Russian troops should evacuate the territories of the Batavian republic, by the thirtieth of November; that the mounted batteries at the Helder should be restored in their present state; that 8000 French and Batavian prisoners of war in England, taken before the present campaign, should be restored to their respective countries; and that major-general

Knox should remain behind, to guaranty the execution of this convention. The proposition of restoring the Batavian fleet, which had been surrendered by admiral Story, was rejected with indignation; and the duke threatened, in case general Brune persevered in this demand, to cut the sea-dikes, and inundate the whole country. Nearly 4000 Dutch deserters were brought off to England with the British troops, who were embarked without delay; and the Russians were landed and quartered in Guernsey and Jersey.

In this year, the flourishing settlement of Surinam was wrested from the Dutch by a body of troops, under lieutenant-general Trigge, embarked on board two line-of-battle ships and five frigates, under the command of lord Hugh Seymour: the articles of capitulation gave full security to the persons and property of the inhabitants, but resigned all public property to his Britannic majesty: it was also provided, in case the island should remain with Great Britain at the conclusion of peace, that it should enjoy the privileges of our other West Indian colonies. The British navy, during the whole of this year, lost not a single ship of war; while twenty frigates, corvettes, and luggers, belonging to France, and ten to Spain, were either taken or run on shore. The Dutch navy may be said to have been annihilated; and as the sailors were obviously disaffected to the new government, all maritime exertions in that quarter were discontinued.

We left Buonaparte in Egypt, which country he had brought under subjection to the French arms: but as it could not be supposed that the Porte would leave him in quiet possession of his conquest, or that England would make no effort to wrest it from him, he determined to begin the attack on the Turks before they could receive assistance from other quarters. Accordingly, preparations were made for an expedition against Acre, the train of artillery being sent by sea; while the army, in four divisions, under Kleber, Bon, Regnier, and Lannes, marched to El Arisch, where an action was fought, in which the French were successful. They next proceeded to Jaffa, which was carried by assault after a vigorous resistance; and the troops encamped before Acre, where the trenches were opened on the thirtieth of March: this city, however, contained within its walls two men, who to the romantic heroism of the days of chivalry added all the knowledge appertaining to modern warfare; Sir Sidney Smith, and colonel Philippeaux, an emigrant officer of engineers, who, having contributed to rescue his friend from bondage in the Temple at Paris, had ac-

accompanied him on board the squadron which he commanded in the Levant. With the aid of these brave and experienced officers, Djezzar Pacha, governor of the city, defied all the attempts of Buonaparte ; and although the amiable Philippeaux died long before the termination of the siege, from a fever brought on by unceasing exertions and want of rest, yet the gallant Sir Sidney, by mooring his ships, the Tigre and Theseus, so as to flank the ditches and trenches, and, by landing portions of his crews, to defend the walls ; enabled the Turks to defeat the furious attacks of the French, and to dissipate all Buonaparte's schemes of oriental empire. Standing on the mount of Richard Cœur de Lion, and surveying his preparations for the final assault, Napoleon observed to Bourrienne, his military secretary,—‘This miserable place has indeed cost me dear ; but I must make a last effort : if I succeed, I shall find in the city the pasha's treasures, and arms for 300,000 men : I will then stir up the people of Syria, who are disgusted with the ferocity of Djezzar ; I will march on Damascus and Aleppo ; and, having announced to the people every where the abolition of servitude and the tyrannical government of the pashas, I shall arrive at Constantinople with large masses of soldiery ; and, having overturned the Turkish power, shall found in the East a new and grand empire : perhaps I shall return to Paris by Adrianople, or by Vienna, after having annihilated the house of Austria.’⁴ But after sixty days of slaughter and of shame before the apparently contemptible fortress of Acre, this proud conqueror was obliged to return into Egypt ; and, instead of making his grand circuit through Asia and Europe, over fields of battle and subverted thrones ; he slunk away from his deserted army, and set sail for the shores of France in one of those frigates, which Nelson, for want of proper means, was unable to destroy.

Buonaparte, however, had a still higher game to play : he well knew, that in times of disorder, when all powers are confounded, and an equilibrium cannot be established, he who is cleverest and boldest may easily oppress the rest.

The French directory was now rapidly verging toward dissolution : the defeats in Germany and the loss of Italy had generally exasperated the nation : the provinces were in a dreadful state of insubordination ; the jacobins were again beginning to meet in clubs ; and the moderates, who had an equal dread of the terrorists, and contempt for the directory, received

⁴ Bourrienne's Memoirs, English edition, vol. i. p. 208.

Napoleon with every demonstration of public favor; while the directory praised and chided, but showed great fear of him. The intriguing Sieyes, secretly gratified with the popularity enjoyed by Buonaparte, disclosed to him certain projects, and solicited his powerful aid to carry them into execution. At five in the morning of the eighteenth Brumaire, (November the ninth) by a manœuvre of the confederates in the council of ancients, a proposal, made without any communication with the directors, was carried by a large majority,—that the assembly should adjourn to St. Cloud; and that general Buonaparte should be charged to put the decree into execution, being appointed supreme commander of all the forces: the sitting was then dissolved; and the general instantly issued two proclamations, announcing his command, and inviting the army and national guard to support him in his endeavors to restore liberty, victory, and peace to their country. He then marched 10,000 troops to the Tuilleries, and guarded every avenue to that place so effectually, that no one was permitted to pass. Three of the directors and all the citizens of Paris first became acquainted with these proceedings by the proclamations with which the walls of the capital were placarded. Barras, who at first refused to give in his resignation, was sent to his country seat, under a guard of cavalry, with a promise, not only of oblivion for the past, but of wealth and indemnity for the future; while Gohier and Moulins remained guarded by Moreau at the Luxemburg. In the mean time, Buonaparte made his appearance in the council of the ancients; and, attempting to speak of plots and disclosures, became so incoherent and inconsequential, that his friends, seeing him in a false position, induced him to retire to the troops outside; by whom he was received with acclamations. In the mean time the council of five hundred had assembled, filled with astonishment and distrust; and although Buonaparte's brother, Lucien, was at this time its president, an uproar was excited by the entrance of Napoleon, in which even his life was in imminent danger, until the grenadiers entered the hall to the rescue of their chief. The members instantly decreed that the council of ancients had no power to invest Buonaparte with the command, and his outlawry was even proposed; but the president, refusing to pronounce such a decree against his brother, quitted the chair: the most vehement threats were then employed for the purpose of compelling him to resume his office; but he remained inflexible, until Murat arrived with a military force for his protection: the chamber was then

cleared at the point of the bayonet ; and cries of ‘ Long live the republic ! ’ ‘ Long live Buonaparte ! ’ sent forth by the soldiers, announced the event, and the means by which it was accomplished. The first imperfect intelligence of this usurpation had filled the capital with apprehension ; but no sooner were the circumstances attending it made known, than the Parisians expressed unfeigned joy at the final subversion of jacobin power.

A provisional government was now appointed, consisting of three consuls, Sieyes, Ducos, and Buonaparte ; who, being invested with the directorial authority, entered on their public functions at the palace of the Luxemburg ; whilst the legislative commissioners at the same time commenced their sittings. In forming the new administration, Lucien Buonaparte was appointed to the ministry of the interior ; Talleyrand being reinstated in that of foreign affairs, and Fouché set over the police : a new constitution, however, was soon afterwards adopted : three consuls, one of whom bore the title of chief, formed the executive power ; a conservative senate was appointed, consisting of eighty members, with a legislative body of 300, and a tribunate of 100 ; while the popular sovereignty was abolished, by the abrogation of the municipal governments, and the institution of prefects in the various departments. Buonaparte was nominated First Consul for a term of ten years, the two subordinate consuls being Cambacères and Le Brun : the establishment of a council of state took place on the twenty-fourth of December. The whole result was, undoubtedly, a blessing to France : ‘ Whoever denies this,’ says Bourrienne, ‘ can have no idea of the wretched state of every branch of the administration at that deplorable epoch.’ In fact, according to Napoleon’s own expression, ‘ the pear was ripe,’ when he thought fit to pluck it.

The situation of affairs on the continent, and the part taken by the British government in the coalition, caused a short meeting of parliament in the month of September : its object was to extend the voluntary service of the militia, while the regular troops were engaged in the expedition to Holland ; and also to vote some pecuniary supplies, on account of unforeseen expenses. The projected militia bill, which permitted three-fifths of that body to enlist into the regulars, at a bounty of ten guineas a man, to serve in Europe only, while it gave rank to the officers equal to that which they before held, was strongly opposed, as tending to diminish a constitutional force, and to augment a standing army, dependent on

the crown. Mr. Pitt's opponents asserted that his uniform system of policy had been to extend the influence of that branch of the constitution beyond its salutary limits: to effect this, his custom was to propose some special or temporary evil to be removed, or some advantage to be obtained, from the restriction of popular privileges and the enlargement of monarchical power. The pretext for suspending the habeas corpus act, was the existence of a conspiracy, which, if it did exist, might easily have been crushed by the laws of the land; that for extending the laws of treason, and repressing popular assemblies, was the existence of seditious meetings: but though the pretended causes were extinct, the coercive laws remained; and thus the ostensible reason for allowing the militia to become soldiers, was to assist our operations abroad; but the real intention was to augment at once the standing army and ministerial patronage. These objections, though vehemently urged, were deemed futile by the house, and the bill was passed by a large majority. The supplies granted at present were between £6,000,000 and £7,000,000, including £2,500,000, to be raised by exchequer bills: measures were also carried for granting relief to West India merchants, and for supporting commercial credit; and parliament again separated on the twelfth of October.

In Great Britain, the energy of 1798 had continued unabated through the greater part of the present year: the victory of the Nile, reanimating the powers of Europe, had encouraged them in hostilities, which during the early part of the campaign had been attended with a signal success, which was chiefly imputed to the spirit and contributions of this country: the retreat of Napoleon from a fortress which a few British sailors undertook to defend, being his first discomfiture in any military attempt, added greatly to the national exultation; while the advance of the Russians, and the formidable armament prepared against the Batavian republic, gave hopes, that the United Provinces might not only be delivered from the French yoke, but contribute to the recovery of the Austrian Netherlands: the failure of this expedition was a gloomy disappointment, and severe censure was bestowed, before an investigation of facts could ascertain its merits. Accounts also arrived at the conclusion of the year, respecting the Russian disasters in Switzerland, of which country the French had again become masters: general Muller also had penetrated into Germany; and, seizing on Frankfort, Manheim, and

Heidelberg, threatened to lay all that portion of the empire under contribution; and though Austria had, by the co-operation of her northern ally, obtained great advantages in Italy; yet it appeared but too evident, that a desire of regaining her ancient possessions in that kingdom overbalanced her anxiety for the general welfare. Thus the people began again to clamor for peace, conceiving that no purpose could be answered by a continuance of the war.

In this state of the public mind, Napoleon addressed a letter from the ancient palace of the Bourbons, on Christmas-day, to the king of Great Britain; indicating a desire of peace, and appealing to his majesty in the following terms:—‘How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence require, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness, the benefits of commerce, internal prosperity, and domestic happiness? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first importance, as well as the first glory? These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your majesty, who reign over a free people, and with the sole view of rendering them happy. France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still, for the misfortune of all nations, long retard the period of their exhaustion; but I will venture to say, that the fate of all civilised nations is attached to the termination of a war which involves the whole world.’

To this letter, an answer was returned by lord Grenville, copious in detail, but by no means conciliatory: its purport was, that the French government afforded no ground for trust: the king, however, did not prescribe to France the disposition of her executive authority; and, as soon as he saw that peace could be made with security, he would most readily concert with his allies the means of pacification: but as, in the present state of France, he could not hope for the stability of any treaty, he with other powers must persist in a just and defensive war. The first consul made another attempt at negociation; and Talleyrand, in a letter to the British secretary, vindicated the conduct of France from the censures contained in his lordship’s note; throwing the blame of war on the league of European powers for the destruction of his country; and proposing a suspension of arms, in order that plenipotentiaries might meet at Dunkirk, or any other convenient place. In the answer sent by lord Grenville on the twentieth of January, the king expressed his concern, that the

unprovoked aggressions of France, the sole origin of the war, were systematically defended by her present ruler : he refused to enter into the refutation of allegations universally exploded, and, as regarded his own conduct, utterly groundless : finally, the French minister was referred to the first note of the British government for his majesty's opinion of the present overtures.

CHAP. XLIII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1800.

Late correspondence of the French and English governments discussed in parliament—Message from the king relating to the ensuing campaign, supplies, &c.—Inquiry into the failure of the late expedition refused—Great scarcity of corn—Measures adopted in consequence of it—Lord Auckland's bill to prevent adultery—Affairs of the East India company—Completion of the union with Ireland—Votes of supplies for the whole year—Fresh subsidy to the emperor of Germany—The king's life attempted by Hadfield—Insanity bill—Parliament rises—Affairs of the continent—Massena in Italy—Surrender of Genoa—Buonaparte's preparations—Moreau in Germany—Napoleon passes the Alps—His operations in Italy—Battle of Marengo—Truce with the Austrians—Consequences of the campaign—Moreau's advance into Germany—Armistice—Preliminary treaty, broken off—Armistice expires, and the contest is renewed—Battle of Hohenlinden—Treaty of Luneville, &c.—Naval operations of Great Britain—Expedition under Sir Ralph Abercromby and lord Keith—Fails at Cadiz—A part proceeds to land troops at Minorca; the other proceeds to Malta—Reduction of that island, with the capture of *Le Généreux*, *Guillaume Tell*, &c.—Events in Egypt after Napoleon's departure—State of affairs in Europe—Emperor Paul's hostility towards England—Re-establishes the northern confederacy against our maritime laws—Scarcity of bread continues in England—Riots, &c.—Negociations for peace—Parliament assembles—Measures taken, &c.—Parliament prorogued.

THE first subject of importance which engaged the attention of parliament after its adjournment, was the correspondence that had recently taken place between the British and French governments: the minority animadverted on the precipitate haste by which the door was closed against all hopes of pacification; while ministers asked what advantages could result from a negociation with France at the present moment; and whether the consular government offered a better guarantee for

peace than any of those which preceded it? Their decision was approved by large majorities, and it was determined to prosecute the war as extensively as possible.

Messages to both houses from the king stated that his majesty was at present employed in concerting such engagements with the emperor, the elector of Bavaria, the duke of Wurtemberg, and other powers of the empire, as might conduce to the advantage of the common cause in the ensuing campaign: certain advances, however, would be necessary, if the treaties were concluded; and he recommended them to make provision for such eventual engagements. The arguments against this demand were, the inefficacy of all former subsidies in the present war, and the distressed state of the country, arising from the enormous weight of taxation, and the unprecedented price of the necessaries of life: it was also inferred, that ministers were well assured of the secession of Russia from the coalition: the parliamentary majority, however, overruled all objections, and the required subsidies were voted. For two months, 120,000 seamen and 90,000 soldiers were granted, exclusive of subsidiaries; but for the rest of the year, 10,000 were deducted from each number: the income-tax was continued; and there was a loan of £21,000,000, including a vote of credit. Amidst arrangements for the future campaign, opposition proposed inquiry into the past: an army of 40,000 men had been employed in Holland; had fought most valiantly, but without effecting any good purpose; and had evacuated the country on the most humiliating conditions: did the miscarriage arise from weakness of plan, or defective execution, or resistless bad fortune? and how was this question to be ascertained without investigation? Ministers, however, asserted that inquiry was unnecessary, since the expedition could not be said to have failed; for, beside the acquisition of a large fleet, our army had effected a powerful diversion, and thereby contributed to the signal successes of our allies: their opponents replied, that a capitulation to an inferior force ought to be investigated, both for the honor and interest of the nation; but the motion was rejected by a great majority.

While parliament manifested its liberality towards our allies, the poor of this nation suffered severely from the difficulty of procuring bread; since an unproductive harvest had greatly advanced the price of corn. Mr. Pitt, on sound principles of political economy, abstained from all interference with the corn market: the speculations of individuals, he conceived, were more likely to produce an adequate supply of

foreign wheat, than any parliamentary measure; the legislature therefore confined its attention to contriving substitutes for bread, and diminishing its consumption. Committees, appointed by both houses, made reports, in which they pressed on the attention of individuals the duty of reducing as much as possible the consumption of wheaten flour in their families, and of encouraging economy in that article within their districts: they also recommended that charitable and parochial relief should be distributed in soup, rice, potatoes, or other such substitutes: at their instance also a bill was passed, prohibiting the sale of bread which had not been baked twenty-four hours. In considering the causes of scarcity, opposition ascribed them chiefly to the war: various incidental debates took place on the subject; in the course of which, Mr. Pitt, from a detailed view of prices during the whole contest, argued, that if the scarcity had arisen from the war, the increase would have been progressive; whereas the prices in 1796, and the two following years, had been as low as during peace; and the rise had not taken place till 1799, being obviously due to an unproductive harvest. Something might have been, perhaps, attributed to the operation of the income-tax, which impelled the farmer to raise the price of his corn; as also to the depreciation of the currency, which naturally raised the prices of all articles, while the wages of the poor were not proportionally increased. Not only the necessities of life, but public morals also occupied the attention of parliament: the crime of adultery had become very prevalent; and it was thought by many political moralists, that intermarriage being permitted to the offending parties, after a divorce, was one fertile source of crime. To remove that incentive, lord Auckland proposed a bill in the house of peers, to prohibit such intermarriage, after the example of the law of Scotland; arguing, that the hopes of a permanent connexion facilitated the temporary success of a seducer. The opponents of the bill, among the most strenuous of whom was the duke of Clarence, took a different view of the subject; thinking that the prohibition would not act as a discouragement of the vice; but, like other obstacles, might rather inflame the passions. Heinous and hurtful to society as the crime itself was, still the seduced person might not be intirely profligate and abandoned: next to the preservation of virtue in the moral code, was recovery from vice before it became habitual and inveterate; but the present bill, if it became a law, would drive females to desperate licentiousness. The law lords, and the bishops in general, sup-

ported lord Auckland's proposition, which was devised with good intentions, and framed with great ability ; but as it was doubted whether the prospect of restriction would be a preventive, it was rejected by a considerable majority.

Among other parliamentary topics, the affairs of the East India company were repeatedly discussed. Mr. Dundas, having investigated the state of its finances, detailed them to the commons : he calculated the revenues of the three presidencies, for the year ending at Lady-day, 1798, at £8,000,000, and the charges at less than £7,500,000. Allowing for the interest of debts, he stated the deficiency of territorial revenue at £194,000 ; and, deducting that sum from the receipts in India on the sale of imported goods, he mentioned £388,000 as the whole sum applicable to commercial purposes, though the advances for this object amounted to £2,500,000 : in the succeeding year, the financial view was rather more favorable. In those two years, he said, the debts had increased so as to approach £9,000,000 ; and the assets in India had decreased, while those at home had received a great augmentation : the sales of the latter year were productive in an unprecedented degree ; amounting, together with the private trade, to £10,315,000. On the whole, the company's affairs appeared to be in a flourishing condition. By an act now passed, a high court of judicature was instituted to supersede that of the recorder at Madras.

But by far the most important act of this year was the completion of the legislative union with Ireland. On the fifteenth of January, the Irish parliament assembled ; and, on the fifth of February, a message from the lord-lieutenant expressed his majesty's wish, that they should take into attentive consideration the resolutions passed by the parliament of Great Britain, respecting a union between the legislatures ; with his hopes, that so important an object might be matured and completed, through the wisdom of the two parliaments, and the loyal concurrence of the people. On this occasion, the Irish secretary, lord Castlereagh, who had the whole management of the business, entered into a comprehensive view of the measure proposed ; recommending it by arguments, similar to those used by its advocates in the British senate. When the first resolution was moved, it was soon discovered which party had applied their time to most advantage ; for after a vehement debate, the numbers in favor of the measure were 158, and against it 115. Many petitions were now presented to the house, generally against the union,

though a few were in its favor; especially one from the town of Galway, which was remarkable for the strong arguments it contained. The tumults of the populace were, on this occasion, very alarming; and the interference of the military was found necessary to preserve the advocates of the union from personal violence. In the house of peers, the earl of Clare, late lord Fitzgibbon, when he moved the first resolution, asserted that he was satisfied, from an attentive observation of Irish affairs for the last twenty years, that the existence of her independent parliament had gradually brought on her recent bitter calamities: he avowed that he had, during the preceding seven years, frequently pressed on ministers the urgent necessity of a union. Lords Dillon, Powerscourt, Farnham, and Bellamont expressed strong disapprobation of the measure, which was defended by the law lords, Carleton and Kilwarden, as well as by several other peers; after which the question was put, and carried by seventy-five against twenty-six votes. The succeeding resolutions passed in a few weeks through that house with equal or greater facility: but in the course of the debates, three different protests, drawn up with vigor and ability, were entered on the journals, by the duke of Leinster, the marquis of Downshire, lords Pery and Moira, the bishop of Down, and about twenty other peers; expressing strong indignation at a measure, which degraded Ireland from her dignity, by depriving her of an independent legislature, acquired after so many noble struggles; and of a local parliament, which was best acquainted with the habits and interests of her people; a measure, which would make the Irish members of the imperial parliament ready tools of administration, like the Scotch; and which, by increasing absentees, would tend to drain the country of its wealth.

On the seventeenth of February, when the house of commons was in a general committee, Corry, chancellor of the exchequer, made an able speech in vindication of the bill, blended, however, with virulent party-feelings and personal reflections. The reply of Henry Grattan, who had opposed the measure throughout with all his powers of eloquence, was so pointed and severe, that the chancellor thought proper to resent it by a challenge; and a duel ensued, in which five shots were exchanged, and the challenger was wounded. On the twenty-seventh of March, the whole business being completed, lord Castlereagh moved an address to his majesty from the commons, declaring their approbation of the resolutions transmitted to them, as wisely calculated to form the basis of a

complete union between the two legislatures; that by these propositions they had been guided; and that the resolutions now offered contained articles, which, if approved by the lords and commons of Great Britain, they were ready to confirm and ratify, in order that the same might be established for ever. This address, being carried in both houses, was immediately transmitted to England by lord Cornwallis; and, on the second of April, it was made the subject of a message from his majesty to the British parliament. The measure was opposed, in the upper house, by lord Holland; but, when a division took place, only the earl of Derby, with the lords Holland and King, voted against the motion, while eighty-two supported it. In the commons, Mr. Pitt discussed the method carrying the measure into effect. As to the propriety of allowing 100 Irish members to sit in the imperial parliament, though the particular number might not be of primary importance, he thought it fairly proportioned to the contributions made by each country to the public exigences; and the selection was rather calculated to favor popular interests: the members for counties and principal cities would be sixty-eight; the remainder would be deputed by the towns most considerable in wealth and population; and thus provision would be made for the security of the landed interest, and for the convenience of local information: besides, as the proposed addition would make no change in the internal form of British representation, it would not expose us to dangers from political experiments, under the specious name of reform; experiments, which, whatever his opinions respecting reform might once have been, he was now convinced would be hazardous under present circumstances. As it might appear desirable that very few of the members sent from Ireland should hold places under the crown, he proposed that the number, intitled to be placemen, should be limited to twenty; and that the imperial parliament should afterwards regulate this point as circumstances might suggest. The number of peers to represent the whole body of Irish nobility was fixed at thirty-two: four would suffice to inform parliament of the state of the church; and the rest would be a fair proportion, considered with reference to the case of Scotland, and the number of Irish commoners. The election of temporal peers for life he recommended, as more conformable to the spirit of the nobility than that which was settled at the Scottish union: the right reserved for Irish peers to sit in the house of commons, as representatives for Great Britain, would render them fitter to serve their country when

called to a higher assembly : the permission to create new peers for Ireland he also justified ; for, although the Scotch peerage might long maintain itself without any accession, from the great extent of inheritance allowed by the patents ; that of Ireland was in danger of a rapid diminution, by reason of the very limited nature of the successions. In the article respecting the church, he noticed the clause introduced by the Irish parliament, providing for the presence of the clergy of that country at convocations which might be held in this island, and the propriety of leaving to the imperial legislature the discussion of the claims of Roman catholics. The next article, he observed, would grant a general freedom of trade, with only such exceptions as might secure vested capital, and prevent a great shock to any particular manufacture, or to popular prejudices : almost all prohibitions would be repealed ; and only protecting duties, to a small amount, imposed on some few articles.

Mr. Grey strenuously opposed the whole plan of the union : his principal objections were founded on its unpopularity among the Irish people ; on the means of corruption and intimidation which had been used to accomplish the measure ; and on the great dissimilarity between the case of Ireland and that of Scotland, with respect to an incorporation with England : he concluded by moving that the number of Irish placemen, who should sit in the united parliament, be limited to nineteen instead of twenty, which was negatived without a division. Early in May, the remaining articles having been severally investigated and approved by decisive majorities, Mr. Pitt moved an address to his majesty, acquainting him that the house had proceeded through the great and important measure of a legislative union, which they had the satisfaction to state was nearly in strict conformity with the principle laid down in his majesty's message : this was carried without a division ; and, the assent of the peers being obtained without any material alteration, a joint address was presented to the throne ; and a bill, grounded on the resolutions, to take effect from the first of January, 1801, immediately passed through both houses. On the second of July, the royal assent was given to this important measure ; and when the session terminated, his majesty expressed peculiar satisfaction in congratulating the two houses on the success of the steps they had taken for effecting an intire union between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland ; declaring that he should ever consider this measure as the happiest event of his reign. The Irish session, which had

been prolonged till the bill passed in England, for the purpose of ratifying the several alterations and additions made by the British legislature, was dissolved on the second of August, and with it the existence of the parliament of Ireland. 'The union itself,' says Dr. Miller,⁵ 'may be regarded as a proof that this parliament had reached the natural limit of its duration: if such a measure as the union were honestly adopted, the parliament must have become conscious of its own insufficiency; if it were purchased by corruption, that parliament must have been unworthy to exist.'

'The whole history of Ireland, up to the union,' as the same excellent writer observes, 'presents a series of events most curiously combined. Its earlier period, unhappy as it was, prepared that party of Roman catholics, which, in the struggles terminated by the English revolution, was opposed, as an antagonist force, to the Scottish presbyterians, and thus assisted in effecting the adjustment of the English government: when this important function had been discharged, Ireland had to prepare itself for entering with advantage into the general incorporation of a united empire; the preceding period of its history, however beneficial in assisting to adjust the balance of the English constitution, having been inauspicious to the domestic interests of the country. Of that preparation, it was a necessary condition, that one of the two parties, by which it was distracted, should suffer a temporary depression so intire, that the other should not be embarrassed or obstructed in its efforts to obtain national independence: the prosperity, however, thus acquired, extended its influence even to the party by whose depression it had been obtained; and the Roman catholics, participating in the advantages of protestants, rose again to a political importance, in which they were opposed to the ascendancy of the prevailing party; a short struggle of rebellion, the natural result of an ungoverned desire of independence among a portion of the protestants, aided by the ancient disaffection of the adverse party, brought the country into a situation, in which the minister was able to consolidate the empire by the union of Ireland.'⁶

So zealous was the British house of commons to promote the measures of administration, that the intire votes of the year amounted to £48,000,000; and a fresh subsidy of £2,000,000

⁵ Modern History philosophically considered, vol. iv. p. 504.

⁶ Vol. iv. p. 506.

was cheerfully granted, to encourage the emperor of Germany in his warlike views. On the fifteenth of May, a coincidence of circumstances took place regarding the king, which deeply interested the feelings, not only of the two houses, but of the whole nation: the first occurred in the morning, while he was reviewing the grenadier guards in Hyde-park; when, during the firing, a ball struck and severely wounded a gentleman named Ongley, attached to the navy-pay office, who was standing within a few yards of his majesty:⁷ the second in the evening, when he visited Drury-lane theatre, accompanied by the queen and four of the princesses. As the king entered the royal box, and advanced, with his usual condescension, to salute the audience, a pistol was discharged at him by a person who sat in the second row from the orchestra; but a gentleman, named Holroyd, having fortunately observed the action, suddenly raised his arm so as to direct the contents of the weapon toward the roof of the box. The king showed admirable presence of mind on this occasion in calming the apprehensions of his family; and, far from betraying any symptom of fear, resolved to remain till the play was over: the audience testified the most rapturous applause, when, recovering from the mute agony of suspense, they were assured of their beloved monarch's safety; and the assassin, being seized on the spot, and conveyed to the music-room, was examined by the prince of Wales, the duke of York, Mr. Sheridan, and others; when it was satisfactorily discovered, both then, and at his subsequent trial, that the person who had thus attempted his sovereign's life was of deranged intellects: his name was Hadfield, and he had served under the duke of York in Flanders, where he received many severe wounds in the head. Though acquitted of the crime of treason, he was committed to safe custody during the remainder of his life.

In consequence of this and other acts directed against the person of his majesty, two additional clauses were added to the insanity bill: the first was to prevent any individual confined for alleged lunacy, from being bailed, without the concurrence of one of the magistrates who committed him, except by the judges, or at the quarter sessions; the second provided more

⁷ The cartouch-boxes of the battalion were immediately searched; but no other ball-cartridge being found, the accident was supposed to have arisen from neglect in some one of the soldiers.

especially for the personal safety of the sovereign. These provisions were the last important acts of this session of parliament, which was prorogued on the twenty-ninth of July.

A remarkable campaign distinguished the year which closed the eighteenth century. The emperor Paul, who was easily led away by impulses of passion, being enraged at the unexpected disasters which had befallen his troops in Switzerland and Holland, deserted the confederacy, and soon became one of the most ardent admirers of Buonaparte: the archduke Charles too, the only warrior who as yet emulated the fame of Napoleon, was, by the ruinous influence of the Aulic council, which had controlled his operations and thwarted his views, deprived of his command; and the imperial forces were led by the veteran Kray in Germany, and by Melas in Italy.

Napoleon's conquests had been visited with terrible retribution: a commander and a nation, who were generally despised as barbarians, had torn her laurels from the brow of France; and the march of the Russians in Italy had been over the wreck of her armies. In this emergency, Massena, who was styled 'the favorite child of fortune,' was sent across the Alps, with generals Soult, Oudinot, and Brune, to refix the national banners on the banks of the Po: but victory at length deserted her favorite, and Massena was finally driven within the ramparts of Genoa. Soult highly signalised himself in this retreat, by one of those efforts of gallantry which throw so much personal lustre on a commander: 20,000 Austrians had assailed his corps, which did not amount to 4000, at Montenotte: but the strength of this position gave them a great advantage, and they long resisted the attack: towards evening, however, the rocks were found to be no longer tenable, and orders were given for an expeditious retreat to Genoa. The French had suffered much during the day; and at the commencement of their departure, the columns were thrown into dreadful confusion by the blowing up of an ammunition waggon: the soldiers were already flying down the hills to certain slaughter; when Soult rushed to their front, snatched the colors of a regiment from the ensign, and, amidst a storm of fire, firmly planted it on the height which they had deserted. The action was irresistible: the troops rushed back with shouts, and kept the Austrians at bay till night; under cover of which, Soult threw a reinforcement into the fortress of Savona, and marched with the rest of his forces to Genoa.⁸ The siege of

⁸ See *Vie de Maréchal Soult*, par Alex. Sallé. Paris, 1834.

that city was now formed : the Austrians, aware of Napoleon's preparations, pushed their advances with unusual rapidity, being powerfully assisted by a British squadron under admiral lord Keith. Massena, with 25,000 men, soon had no other alternative but to force his way through the enemy, or to surrender : Soult, in this emergency, made a bold effort to act on the Austrian communications, and open the blockade : as the first step, he attacked their fortified post on Monte Creto ; and, leading on his division with great impetuosity, swept off the opposing piquets, and rushed into the enemy's camp : but the day turned, as soon as the Austrians recovered from the first surprise. The French soldiery have been compared to the tiger,—victorious at the first impulse, or not at all : they here missed their spring, and attempted to retire : a desperate conflict then ensued in the midst of darkness, illuminated only by flashes of lightning ; while torrents of rain put an end to the use of musketry : their brave commander fell by a wound which was supposed to be mortal, and his troops dispersed themselves in flight. Massena still defended the city with a vigor and resolution that have seldom been surpassed : famine alone induced him at last to sign a capitulation honorable to its defenders ; and on the fourth of June, Genoa was evacuated.

Buonaparte now appeared to be the only arbiter into whose hands the destinies of France could safely be committed ; and being at the head of the executive power, he soon perceived which were the weak parts of the republic. Encouraged by the late failures of the French arms, the royalists in Britany and Normandy had again risen in arms, to the number of 60,000 men : Napoleon's plan in this case was that of general conciliation : he expressed a desire of peace, not only with royalists, but even with emigrants, whom he invited by a proclamation to return : many constitutionalists, relying on the faith of government, daily came back to France ; as well as numbers of those who fled in the time of Robespierre, or at the convulsion in 1797 : even estates were restored, so far as the restitution did not violate the new tenures of property : still the Chouans persisted in revolt ; but in the beginning of this year the first consul detached a considerable portion of them from the confederacy ; and when pacific measures did not succeed, he effectually employed force with the rest. Early in spring, he had intirely crushed the insurrection ; and having established internal tranquillity, he made preparations for prosecuting the war.

In February, a proclamation was issued, complaining of the obstinacy of Great Britain in continuing hostilities, and inviting the French to furnish subsidies and men necessary for the acquisition of peace: at the same time it was deemed expedient that a force of 60,000 conscripts should be assembled at Dijon: of this the first consul intended to take the command himself; while its denomination of an 'army of reserve' was calculated to deceive the Austrians with regard to its future destination.

The state of affairs in Italy has been already described. On the side of Germany, Moreau commanded 100,000 men, extending from Switzerland to Mentz; his left wing being secured by Prussian neutrality, and his right by the Helvetic Alps; while his rear was protected by its communication with France and Belgium: with this formidable host he directed his march towards Vienna, with the double purpose of making an impression on that quarter, and of drawing off the enemy's attention from the recovery of Italy. On the twenty-fifth of March, he crossed the Rhine in four divisions, and formed a junction of his forces in Suabia, with the lake of Constance on his right. By various manœuvres, he turned the right wing of the opposing army; and in a series of engagements bravely contested on both sides, he was eventually so successful, that he commanded Franconia and Suabia on the left, laying both those countries under contributions, intercepting supplies, and destroying many magazines: in front, he occupied the attention of the whole Austrian army; and from his right, he was able to send detachments to the south: in this manner, for near two months, he kept his adversaries ignorant of his designs; alarmed the Austrians by marches and feigned irruptions, for the safety of their hereditary states; and prevented them from prosecuting effective operations in the Italian provinces.

At length, the time was come when Napoleon's presence was required: informed of the critical situation of Massena, he placed himself at the head of his troops in Burgundy, with the intention of passing the Alps, and descending on the rear of the Austrian army, which was now directed toward the Savoy Alps, in pursuit of Suchet: their commander, Melas, had his headquarters at Alessandria; and thus his communications would be cut off, his plans deranged, his troops obliged to counter-march and take new positions, whilst a defeat would be ruin: these views were too bold to have entered into the Austrian's conception; and Buonaparte well knew the value of a surprise in warfare. On the sixth of May, the first consul left Paris;

and on the fifteenth, his army reached the Great Saint Bernard; when the soldiers, inspired with an enthusiastic admiration of their general, quickly surmounted all the difficulties of that Alpine region, which was considered only pervious to foot passengers and mules: dismounting their artillery, they placed their guns in troughs hollowed out of trees; and these were drawn by 500 or 600 men, according to the size of the piece: the wheels, fixed on poles, were carried on their shoulders; and tumbrils, being emptied, were placed with their axle-trees on sledges. In May, the winter is still unmitigated in those wild regions; while the dangers and difficulties of the ice and snow are terribly increased by the constant fury of the whirlwind. A large sum of money had been transmitted to the monks of the convent, to provide refreshment for the exhausted soldiers; and thus relieved, they resumed their march with alacrity towards the valley of Aosta, till they arrived at the little fortress of Bard, which, by the strength of its position, stopped the way: it was summoned and cannonaded, but all in vain: in the darkness of the night, however, the road beneath was strewn with straw, and the cannon silently passed over it: had its commander, by opening his fire, delayed their advance much longer, all the advantages of surprise might have been lost to the invaders. Buonaparte, following the course of the Dora and the Po, entered Milan and Pavia, having seized all the letters passing between Melas and the Aulic council.

Established in Milan, and waiting for reinforcements from the army of Switzerland, he despatched his different generals to seize the towns on the Po; while Murat, in capturing Piacenza, intercepted a courier with tidings of the fall of Genoa: this misfortune left to Napoleon no object but that of giving battle to Melas, who had concentrated his forces at Alessandria; while the army which had reduced Genoa, marched to surprise the advanced posts of the French, as they passed the Po: but they were met by Lannes at Montebello, and driven back on Melas, with a loss of 5000 men; a presage of the terrible slaughter that was about to ensue.

The French army now took a very strong position at Stadella, in order that Suchet might close on the rear of the Austrians, whilst Massena brought up the liberated garrison of Genoa. As Melas showed no signs of movement, and Buonaparte feared that he might escape by marching either northward towards Pavia, or southward towards Genoa, he determined to descend into the plains of Marengo, though he gave an advantage to his enemies, who were on the other side

of the Bormida, and at liberty either to attack or to defend the course of that river: so little activity, however, did Melas exhibit, that Napoleon detached Desaix, on his left, to prevent any movement of his adversary towards Genoa: but at that moment, the Austrian had decided, in a council of war, that the only mode of reaching Genoa in safety was to give battle to his opponents.

On the morning of the fourteenth of June, the Austrians crossed the river by three bridges, and found the French, not drawn up in line, but thrown back in separate divisions, at considerable intervals, extending from Marengo, the village next the Bormida, to their head-quarters at San Giuliano: at the former point the first attack was made; but the imperialists, instead of marching boldly to the charge, deployed, planted batteries, and endeavored to effect by the fire of artillery what an assault might have carried at once; and this afforded time for Buonaparte to recall Desaix: the right and left of the Austrians, however, composed chiefly of superb cavalry, swept all obstacles before them; and, turning toward the centre at Marengo, expelled the enemy, and threw them into such confusion, that Melas, thinking the battle won, and having sent a large body of cavalry to stop the advance of Suchet, retired to Alessandria to write his despatches: Napoleon, however, was preparing to make a stand at San Giuliano, and avenge his previous defeat: there Desaix joined him, and applauded his resolve: the artillery was placed in one tremendous battery, commanding the high road, along which the Austrians moved in column, as to certain victory, commanded by general Zach, in the absence of Melas.

As the imperialists approached, the battery was unmasked, and swept their ranks; while Desaix led up his fresh division on one side; and Kellerman, on the other, with a brigade of cavalry, watched an opportunity to charge: he soon found it; cut through the column; recharged, and traversed it several times with such slaughter, that the foremost division, with its commander Zach, laid down their arms; the rest then fled in utter confusion across the wide plain of Marengo, toward the bridges, pursued and slaughtered by the victorious foe. The brave Desaix had fallen by a musket-ball at the moment of his advance, but the charge of young Kellerman was the decisive movement; and when Napoleon, after the battle, exhibited so much jealousy, as to offer lukewarm praise to the brave officer who directed it, by calling it 'opportune,' the answer was,—

‘Opportune, indeed; for it has placed the crown on your head.’

The consequences of this short campaign were as important as those of the long struggle in 1796: all the conquests of Suwarroff were lost in a day: Alessandria was taken; Genoa was re-occupied; the Austrians, entering into an armistice, retired behind the Mincio; and Napoleon returned in triumph to Paris, after proclaiming his resolve that Lombardy and Liguria should now form one powerful republic; establishing a provisional administration at Milan. On the fourteenth of July, he celebrated the anniversary of the revolution in the Champ de Mars; and on that spot, where deputies from all parts of France had met to swear solemn vows to liberty, a military dictator now appeared, in the midst of his guards, bearing the Austrian standards taken at Marengo. The acclamations of the people were the same at both epochs; for in Napoleon, the overturner of ancient dynasties, the conqueror of their ancient foes, and the remodeller of their decayed constitution, they still saw the representative of what they called liberty and the revolution.

In the mean time, the imperial army opposed to Moreau, having retired before that general from Ulm toward Bavaria, the French took possession of Munich, and laid the country under heavy contributions: at the same time, the right wing, under Lecourbe, drove the Austrians from the Grisons, and entered the Tyrol; while on the left, a new army of French and Batavians were preparing to penetrate into Franconia and Bohemia. The court of Vienna, always more vigorous under adverse than prosperous fortune, animated also by the exhortations and supplies of Great Britain, had hitherto refused the terms offered by the enemy: but as he now menaced the very heart of their dominions, it was judged expedient to sue for an armistice, which Moreau, with Buonaparte’s sanction, granted on the fourteenth of July. On the twenty-eighth of the same month, preliminaries of peace, on the basis of that of Campo Formio, were signed at Paris; but the emperor, meanwhile, had received the subsidy from England, and concluded a new treaty with that power; the chief article of which prohibited either of the contracting parties from making peace without the other: adhering, therefore, to this engagement, the Austrian court endeavored to include its ally in the negotiation; but Napoleon’s policy was to detach members from the confederacy, and he threw insurmountable obstacles in the

way of this proposal: the emperor, therefore, refused to ratify the preliminaries, alleging that the Austrian envoy, St. Julien, had exceeded his powers. The armistice was to expire on the seventh of September: putting himself then at the head of his army, he endeavored to rouse the force of Germany, in defence of the empire: but the whole of the north was kept inactive by the adverse neutrality of Prussia, while other weak princes were intimidated by their formidable invaders: his imperial majesty then proposed a prolongation of the armistice for the space of forty-five days; and this was granted only on the delivery of Philipsburg, Ulm, and Ingolstadt, as securities: it expired; and, late as the season was, both parties took the field. Moreau was on the banks of the Iser; the imperialists, under the archduke John, on those of the Inn—a good line of defence, which they unfortunately quitted, and marched to the attack through wretched roads, rendered worse by November weather. At the first encounter, Ney was driven back with considerable loss; and this gleam of success emboldened the archduke to advance through the forest of Ebersburg, against Moreau, who lay at Hohenlinden: he had, however, no sooner begun his march, than a heavy shower of snow and sleet so retarded his troops, that his central column alone arrived at the place of destination: it was met, as it issued from the forest, by the divisions of Ney and Grouchy; while another corps, conducted by Richepanse, passing between it and the Austrian left wing, attacked it in the rear: the result was, the total defeat and surrender of the centre; the rest of the army being utterly routed and put to flight. The battle of Hohenlinden would not have taken place had the archduke Charles commanded; but that prince was in disgrace, for having recommended peace. The contest was now decided: the British court, sensible of the alarming situation in which the emperor was placed, released him from his engagements: he renewed his negotiations with the first consul; and the treaty of Luneville followed, little differing from that of Campo Formio, except that Tuscany was now taken from an Austrian duke, and given to a Spanish prince of Parma, who assumed the title of king of Etruria:⁹ Italy resumed its republican forms of government under French protection; the Rhine being still the boundary of France on the side of Germany: southern

⁹ For this, Spain ceded to France Louisiana, which was subsequently purchased from France by the United States of America.

Italy was treated by the first consul with leniency; his forbearance being solicited by the Russian emperor, whose friendship would have been considered worth preserving at a much greater price. Rome also experienced similar favor: the new pope, Chiaramonte, who assumed the name of Pius VII., was allowed to retain the reins of government; for the consul, with the instinct of a future sovereign, meditated an alliance between church and state.

While Buonaparte was thus crushing every hope that Great Britain derived from the continental struggle, this country undertook several expeditions, in which her naval power was enabled to act, either independently, or in co-operation with her military forces. A squadron, under Sir Edward Pellew, having silenced several forts on the south-west of the peninsula of Quiberon, a party of soldiers landed, and destroyed them: an attack was afterwards made on various posts; six brigs, sloops, and gun-boats were taken, a corvette burned, a fort dismantled, and supplies, destined for the Brest fleet, intercepted. On the eighth of July, an attempt was made to capture or destroy four frigates in the road of Dunkirk, one of which, *La Désirée*, fell into the hands of captain Campbell, of the *Dart*. But an exploit, performed about this time by lieutenant Coghlan, commanding the *Viper* cutter, excited great admiration, as an instance of the signal intrepidity and prowess which are found united in British seamen. This young gentleman, being off Port Louis, under the command of Sir Edward Pellew, obtained his permission to cut out some vessels at the entrance of the harbor, and made the attempt in a ten-oared cutter, with a midshipman and eighteen sailors, on the night of the twenty-ninth of July. Rowing up to a gun-brig, mounting three twenty-four pounders and four six pounders, with a complement of eighty-seven men, and within pistol-shot of three batteries, they boarded her, and charged the enemy, who made a gallant resistance, repeatedly driving back their assailants: but the handful of British as often returned to the charge; and, with a loss of one killed and eight wounded, including the commander himself, made prize of the brig, and carried her off in triumph. On the coast of Africa, the forts of Goree surrendered to a small squadron under Sir Charles Hamilton; and the island of Curacao in the West Indies, one of the few remaining colonies of the Batavian republic, placed itself voluntarily under British protection. In August, a fleet, under the command of Sir John Borlase Warren, with a military force, under Sir James Pulteney, set sail on a secret expedition:

one of its objects was the conquest of Belleisle; which, however, was found too strongly fortified for the attempt: the armament, therefore, sailed for the coast of Spain, with the design of attacking Ferrol; but that also was found impracticable, and the troops were re-embarked.

Sir Ralph Abercromby, with an army of about 20,000 men, and a fleet of twenty ships of the line, commanded by lord Keith, having appeared off Cadiz whilst a pestilential disease was raging, the governor sent a letter to the British admiral, deprecating an attack under such circumstances; but his lordship replied, that, as the ships in harbor were intended to increase the naval power of France, it could be averted only by their surrender. The governor, however, rejected this requisition; and, as the army had a more important object in view, the intention of attacking Cadiz was also abandoned; and the fleet proceeded to the Mediterranean. One detachment landed its troops at Minorca, which had lately been captured from Spain, there to wait for the ulterior objects of the expedition; while the other sailed towards Malta, in order to co-operate in the reduction of that island.

Malta had been blockaded since the autumn of 1798; and, though it was anxious to shake off the yoke of the French, the possession of the forts secured the latter against popular insurrection. Rear-admiral Pérée attempted to relieve the garrison, in the *Généreux*, attended by three frigates, but was captured on the coast of Sicily. When provisions became very scarce in the island, the *Guillaume Tell*, the only ship of the line now left to the French from the fleet which fought at Aboukir, attempted to escape; but she was gallantly pursued and attacked by the *Penelope* frigate, captain Blackwood, who carried away her main and mizen top-masts; and by captain Dixon, of the *Lion*, sixty-four, who, with only 300 men on board, placed his ship under the bow of the finest two-decker in the world, carrying 1220 men: this enabled Sir Edward Berry, in the *Foudroyant*, of eighty guns, to come up, and act, as lord Nelson observed, 'with that matchless intrepidity and able conduct, which he had remarked in many trying situations.'¹⁰ The *Foudroyant* was laid so close alongside her

¹⁰ 'I thank God,' said his lordship, 'I was not present; I would not take a sprig of those brave men's laurels: they are my children, in whom I glory: they served in my school; and all of us caught our professional zeal and fire from the great and good earl St. Vincent.' Sir Edward was also engaged in the capture of his old

adversary, that her spare anchor was but just clear of the other's main chains: Sir Edward hailed, and desired her to strike; but the French admiral Décrès answered only by brandishing a sword, which was followed by a broadside; and the action began: both ships were soon in such a state, that they separated, as unmanageable, and repaired damages: the action then recommenced, and the French admiral nailed his colors to the mast; nor did he strike, before all his masts and rigging were shot away, and his ship lay like a log on the water, with 400 of her crew killed or wounded. Two frigates afterwards retired from Malta with part of the garrison on board: but one was taken; and the other was the only vessel which escaped of all that accompanied the Egyptian expedition. Despairing of relief, general Vaubois offered to capitulate: the conditions were accepted; the troops were permitted to return to France, on the condition of not serving till regularly exchanged; and Malta, that great citadel of the Mediterranean, like Gibraltar, its key, became a pillar of the British throne.

When Napoleon left Egypt, at the close of 1799, he conferred the chief command of the army on general Kleber; and this officer, in prosecution of Buonaparte's own design, entered into a negociation with the Ottoman commander, agreeing to evacuate the country, on condition that the French troops were permitted to return unmolested to Europe. This convention, which was signed on the twenty-fourth of January, being referred to Sir Sidney Smith by the Turks, was guaranteed by him: but the British cabinet, not aware of Sir Sidney's share in the transaction, and thinking that it would be highly impolitic to liberate so large a force to act against the emperor, their ally, instructed lord Keith not to ratify it: accordingly, that admiral sent a letter to Kleber, acquainting him that he had received orders not to agree to any capitulation, unless he should surrender his troops prisoners of war, not to go to France until exchanged; and should deliver up all the ships and stores in the port of Alexandria. Kleber, indignant at this unexpected message, apprised the Turks that

antagonist, *Le Généreux*; and when the officers and crew, by whom he had been plundered of all his property, applied to him to be allowed to retain their clothes, he good-humoredly reminded them of their base conduct to himself, by saying, 'Yes; and you may keep my own also;' which some of them were actually wearing.

the convention was at an end: hostilities recommenced, and some considerable advantages were gained by the French; but, after he had dispersed the army of the grand vizir, and quelled an insurrection in Cairo, that excellent officer was assassinated by a Turkish emissary, leaving the command to general Menou, a man every way his inferior: from this time the negotiation appears to have been discontinued, and Menou to have resolved on defending Egypt to the last. This was the situation of affairs in the East: in the West the prospect was more discouraging for Great Britain: France had now reduced the continent of Europe almost to a state of vassalage; while the emperor Paul, having broken his connexion with England, and complaining of her maritime encroachments, labored to re-establish among the northern powers that armed neutrality, which had been a favorite scheme in his mother's policy.

At home, the year was still distinguished by the exorbitant price of all the necessaries of life: the evil was borne patiently till harvest commenced; and then prices fell with considerable rapidity: but about September, while it was still believed that the crop was abundant, bread again rose, and reports were spread that the calamity proceeded from forestallers and monopolisers, combining to enrich themselves by the public distress, and facilitating their combinations by means of the increased paper currency. Hence riots and other violent proceedings took place throughout the kingdom, and London was terribly agitated; but Mr. Combe, the lord mayor, by aid of the volunteers, succeeded in repressing the commotions without bloodshed.

As the British government, during the negotiations between France and Austria, had intimated to the latter power a desire of being included in a treaty of peace, the first consul authorised M. Otto, a gentleman employed in England as agent for the exchange of prisoners, to propose a truce between the French and British forces by land and sea. The answer returned by our cabinet was, that it was ready to send a plenipotentiary to a congress; but that a naval armistice had never been established between France and England during any negotiation; and that such a step, by giving rise to disputes, might obstruct rather than promote a pacification: M. Otto answered, that an English armistice would be only an equivalent to France, for the obvious disadvantages of prolonging the Austrian truce. The armistice proposed to England, as a

joint negociator with Austria, was, that the ships of Great Britain and France should enjoy freedom of navigation as before the war; that Belleisle, Malta, and Alexandria should be placed in a state similar to that of Philipsburg, Ulm, and Ingoldstadt; vessels being allowed to supply the garrisons with stores; while the British fleets should draw off from Flushing, Cadiz, Brest, and Toulon. Lord Grenville, after dwelling on the manifest disadvantage of this scheme to England, proposed a counter-project more equitable; prohibiting all means of defence from entering Malta, or any Egyptian port, while the necessaries of life might be introduced from time to time; and discontinuing the blockade of Brest and other French ports, provided no military or naval stores were conveyed thither by sea, and the ships of war in them were not removed to any other station. The French government, not satisfied with such proposals, offered this alternative:—if Great Britain would agree to a separate negociation, her scheme should be adopted; but if she insisted on a general negociation, she must abide by the French proposition. Lord Grenville still adhered to his own terms, and M. Otto declared the discussion at an end; adding, however, that the first consul was ready to receive any overture for a separate peace: but to this proposal the British government gave an honorable and decisive negative.

The last British parliament assembled on the tenth of November, in order to despatch the most urgent business before the meeting of the united legislature. To alleviate public distress, the dangerous measure of a *maximum* was brought forward by the earl of Warwick; proposing to fix the price of a bushel of wheat at ten shillings, though it was actually selling for twenty: but the mischievous notion of an artificial scarcity was exploded by the wisdom of parliament; and the motion was rejected. In considering the present dearth, the first point to be ascertained was, whether there was a deficiency in the crop: committees were appointed to investigate facts; and this report stated that it was defective by about one-fourth. To supply this, the majority in both houses proposed to encourage the importation of corn and rice, to prevent the export of grain, and to diminish its consumption by substitutes and economy. Acts were passed, enjoining the use of mixed and inferior kinds of bread, and giving bounties for importation; the distillation of spirits from grain was also suspended; and, greatly to the honor of the nation, the hand of charity was

liberally opened. In discussing the late negotiations, a great majority commended the resolution of government, not to conclude a separate peace; though opposition members predicted that Great Britain would be ultimately compelled to accede to such a plan. The supplies having been voted, parliament was prorogued, on the last day of the year, by his majesty in person.

CHAP. XLIV.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1801.

Alteration of the style and titles appertaining to the imperial crown, &c.—Origin of the northern confederacy, or renewal of the armed neutrality—Negociations on the subject—Meeting of parliament—King's speech—Debates on the address, involving an inquiry into the conduct of ministers, &c.—Address carried—Mr. Pitt's determination to resign office; reasons, &c. considered—Change of ministry—Motion for an inquiry into the state of the nation—Debates thereon—Mr. Pitt's explanation of his conduct—Motion rejected—Bill to exclude the clergy from sitting in the house of commons—Lord Moira's act to relieve insolvent debtors—Renewal of the suspension of the habeas corpus act—Additional supplies—Conjectures respecting the motives of the ex-minister, &c.—Preparations to resist the northern confederacy—Battle of Copenhagen—Dissolution of the northern confederacy—New treaty—Affairs of Portugal—Expedition to Egypt—Expulsion of the French from that country, &c.—Menaces of an invasion—Attack on the French flotilla—Conquests in the North Sea, and in the East and West Indies—Gallant action of Sir James Saumarez—Negociations for peace—Preliminaries signed—Considerations and conditions—Definitive treaty—Reflections—Notice of alterations produced in various classes of society.

ON the first of January, 1801, a royal declaration was issued concerning the style and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as to its ensigns, armorial flags, and banners. In the new heraldic arrangement, the *fleur-de-lis* was omitted, as well as the title of 'King of France;' and the royal dignity was in future to be expressed, as follows, in the Latin tongue:—'*Georgius Tertius, Dei Gratia, Britanniarum Rex, Fidei Defensor.*' The great seal was delivered up and defaced, and a new seal for the united empire given to the lord chancellor: a new standard also, combining the three crosses of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, was hoisted, amidst discharges of artillery, in

each capital: the members of the privy council renewed their oaths; an extensive promotion took place in the army and navy; and a considerable number of the Irish nobility were advanced to the dignity of peers of the united kingdom.

Beside the war in which Great Britain was actually engaged, she was now likely to be exposed to hostilities from a confederacy of the northern powers: the real motive of this union was a desire to humble the naval pride of England; the ostensible reasons which led to its formation arose from the following circumstance.—A frigate, belonging to Denmark, had been taken by the British, as she was conveying contraband stores to the enemy: the Dane had before acknowledged the right of Britain, as a belligerent power, to search trading vessels not sailing under convoy; but asserted that the company of a ship of war protected them from examination. Our envoy at Copenhagen stated these circumstances to the Danish minister, who admitted his knowledge of the facts, and maintained that the principle, on which his government had acted, was agreeable to the law of nations: the English minister, on the other hand, declared, first, that no such principle had ever been recognised; secondly, that its admission would amount to a virtual renunciation of the right of search; since the smallest ship of war could then secure the entrance of contraband stores into an enemy's port. The Dane, unable to rebut these arguments, still maintained the principle; alleging that the belligerent party possessed, in the honor of the neutral, sufficient security that ships of war should not be so employed. To rely on the honor of another state for the support of a maritime right, was too humiliating a proposal for the mistress of the ocean: our ambassador therefore firmly repeated the determination of his government to search neutral ships, steering toward an enemy's harbor, under any species of convoy. Similar discussions took place at London between lord Grenville and the Danish ambassador; the former of whom, anxious to avoid hostilities if possible, released the Danish frigate, but asserted the British right of search. Sweden took part with Denmark in her interpretation of this principle of maritime law: but neither of those states would have dared to support a claim which Great Britain chose to dispute, had they not relied on the aid, as they had been instigated by the resentment, of the czar. Conscious that the brilliant events of the Italian campaign in 1799 were principally due to the Russian arms, and indignant at the recall of his troops from the scene of their glorious exploits to perish amidst Alpine snows, and

deserted by their allies, Paul had conceived a violent resentment against the Austrian court; while the carnage of the Russian troops in Holland, arising from their own precipitate valor, but attributed to intentional exposure, induced him to include Great Britain also in his suspicion and displeasure: to this cause of anger was added the capture of Malta, which was retained by England, instead of being offered to him, as grand master of the order, with which dignity he had been invested. His violent and disordered mind, therefore, imagining in itself the feelings of knighthood, was roused into fury at what he considered a personal insult to his chivalry; and he became animated with a quixotic desire of giving law to the first naval power by sea, as in the preceding year he would have dictated to the first military power by land.

Buonaparte, comprehending the character of this eccentric and capricious being, instantly conceived the idea of rendering it subservient to the designs of France; and his genius, in fact, formed the northern confederacy, rousing all maritime Europe against Great Britain. Paul no sooner declared his resolution to renew and extend the armed neutrality, than with his usual impetuosity he laid an embargo on all the shipping and property of English subjects, and imprisoned the crews of their vessels in Russian ports. Against so flagrant an act as this the British government knew that remonstrance would be of no avail; accordingly, they prepared a naval force to vindicate the national honor: in the mean time, efforts were still continued to reconcile differences with the smaller states of the north: but it soon appeared that arms alone must decide the contest; for Denmark and Sweden manifested a determination to co-operate with Russia, and entered into an alliance with her for that purpose: the old armed neutrality was renewed, with this addition, that convoy should protect vessels from search: an embargo therefore was laid on all the ships of those states in British harbors. This dispute was one of the first subjects that engaged the attention of the united parliament, which met on the twenty-second of January, and replaced its former speaker, Mr. Addington, in the chair. On the second of February, the king, in a speech from the throne, congratulated both houses on the union which had been so happily effected: the other principal topics to which he alluded being the state of the continent, and the dispute with the northern powers. The debates which ensued involved a high degree of interest: in the upper house, earl Fitzwilliam, the friend of Burke, who had hitherto strongly advocated the continuance of the war

and the restoration of the Bourbons, treated the contest as hopeless: he, however, insisted on the propriety of an inquiry into the causes of failure, when such unlimited powers had been committed to ministers, and they had been aided by the whole force of Europe: on another point also information was required; for instead of success against our ancient foe, a contest with our own allies was the result of ministerial measures. The new war, in which we were about to engage, was, he added, as far as Sweden and Denmark were concerned, one of our own seeking; since we had it in our power to suspend the discussion relative to the neutral code, in the same manner as in 1780, when this country was in a much less difficult situation than at present. The amendment moved by his lordship was supported by the earls of Suffolk and Darnley, the latter of whom had voted with ministers at the commencement of the war; but as they had abused the confidence of parliament, and manifested a very small share of political wisdom, he wished for an inquiry into various parts of their administration. Earl Spencer and the duke of Athol deprecated such an inquiry, as likely to repress the spirit of the nation, and obstruct those exertions, which alone could rescue the country from danger. Lord Moira thought that ministers had not properly employed the great military force which oppressed the country by its expense, and therefore should vote for an inquiry. Lords Grenville and Eldon strenuously defended the conduct of administration; and maintained that the claim of searching neutral vessels was founded on the law of nations, uncontradicted by natural jurisprudence; that the assertion of this right constituted the foundation of our commercial wealth, and was the bulwark of our glory. On a division, the address was carried.

In the lower house, Mr. Grey was the chief opposer of the address. After freely animadverting on the general conduct of Mr. Pitt and his associates, he disputed the right claimed by them in the case of neutrals; and even if it should be allowed, he controverted the propriety of exercising it. The minister stated two ways in which the subject ought to be considered; first, the general law of nations on this head ought to be ascertained; and next, it was requisite to inquire whether that law was supported or opposed by precise treaties with the powers concerned. He contended that the principle on which government had acted was universally admitted and adopted, except where it had been restrained or modified by specific conventions. It was stipulated in the commercial treaty with France, that if

that country should happen to be neutral while Great Britain was engaged in war, she should have the advantage now claimed : but this concession, being merely an exception from the general rule, by no means invalidated the right which we claimed by the law of nations : even if such exceptions had been more frequently made, yet with other powers the established law would remain in full force ; more especially with those who had habitually observed the maintenance of the principle. Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, instead of being exempt from the rule, were actually bound by treaties in accordance with it ; and if they should presume to violate their engagements, by carrying the property and assisting the views of our enemies, the honor and interest of Great Britain required the counteraction of such insidious hostility. The address was carried by a majority of 182.

The union of Great Britain and Ireland was justly regarded by Mr. Pitt as the transaction which reflected the greatest lustre on his administration ; and although he had uniformly opposed the claim of catholic emancipation during the existence of the separate legislature of Ireland, it was understood that he had given assurances to the Irish catholics of a complete participation in political privileges as soon as a union should have taken place. When this proposition was submitted to the cabinet council, some of its members expressed their dissent ; especially the king, who alleged that the coronation oath precluded his compliance with a scheme which might endanger the ecclesiastical establishment : and as this repugnance obstructed the recommendation of the measure to parliament, and diminished the probability of its success, Mr. Pitt declared that he conceived himself bound to resign his office : other reasons, however, were assigned for this resignation ; and it was confidently reported that such a step was rendered indispensable by the situation of the country, left, as it was, without an ally ; involved in a war apparently interminable ; and in the hands of a ministry whose decided hostility to the government of France almost precluded the possibility of amicable negotiations. Be this as it may, the catholic question was a sufficient reason for Mr. Pitt's resignation ; and undoubtedly, if not the sole cause of that event, it formed a powerful inducement with him to give up the reins of government. How far he was implicated in this question, and to what extent he stood pledged, is a matter involved in no small degree of obscurity : the following extract, however, from a valuable history, which has frequently been quoted in this work, and the general

accuracy of which is unquestionable, may be considered as satisfactory an elucidation as can now be given :—

‘In obtaining the acquiescence of one part of the people, the government was assisted, as in effecting the Scottish union, by the heterogeneous nature of the opposition ; one portion of that party being disposed to yield to all the pretensions of the Roman catholics, the other being steadily determined to withhold every farther concession. When earl Fitzwilliam was recalled from the government, the Roman catholics were so hostile to the plan of a union, which then began to be apprehended, that at a public meeting held in Dublin, they declared they would resist even their own emancipation, if offered on such a condition. In this state of their minds, Mr. George Ponsonby, the leader of that part of the opposition which favored the Roman catholics, offered to the leader of the other, to engage for their support in opposing the union, if he would engage that his party should concur in admitting their pretensions. This offer was declined ; and it seems to have been then, when they had failed in treating with the opposition for their active support, that they treated with the lord-lieutenant, the marquis Cornwallis, for their acquiescence in a plan which they would willingly have resisted. To the arrangement at that time formed between the viceroy and the Roman catholics of Ireland, the king was a stranger ; but Mr. Pitt felt himself bound to retire from the administration, when he found that the scruples of his sovereign could not be removed.’¹¹

Before the debate on the address, Mr. Pitt had declared his intention of resigning office ; and several of the principal members of his cabinet had followed his example ; but on account of financial arrangements, and the difficulty of settling the new appointments, the premier remained at his post, until the king's health became injured by a violent fever ; when still farther delay was occasioned. The number of men proposed for the army was 193,187 regulars, 78,046 militia, and 31,415 fencibles ; composing an effective force, independent of volunteers, of 302,648 men : the number proposed for the naval service amounted to 135,000 ; and when some objections were urged against the measure, Mr. Pitt alleged the necessity of extraordinary preparations, as the nation might have to contend for principles which were essential to its maritime power. The house being now formed into a committee of ways and means, he stated the supplies at £42,197,000 ; of which,

¹¹ Miller's History philosophically considered, vol. iv. p. 504.

Ireland was to pay £4,324,000, and England the remainder : a loan of £25,500,000 would be required for one country, and £2,500,000 for the other ; but the flourishing state of commerce, and general prosperity, were represented as fully able to bear this pressure : the taxes were numerous in detail, embracing various conveniences, many of which by habit had become necessities of life, especially tea and sugar : one very severely felt by numerous classes, was an additional duty of ten per cent on paper ; which impost, operating as a prohibition, very much diminished the productiveness of the tax. The peers were on the point of discussing the propriety of a motion made by lord Darnley, for an inquiry into the conduct of the government, and the state of public affairs, when the earl of Carlisle advised a postponement of the debate ; it being well known that the principal members of the cabinet were disposed to retire, for reasons of a delicate and interesting nature : lord Grenville then explained the reasons of their resignation :— ‘ We wished,’ he said, ‘ that the benefits of the union should be rendered as great and extensive as possible, by the removal of certain disabilities under which a great portion of the inhabitants of Ireland labored : imagining that this measure could only be effectual by coming from the executive government, we felt it our duty to propose it to those who direct his majesty’s councils : it was not deemed eligible, and we were unable to prevail. As our opinion of its policy remained unaltered, and we still think this measure alone capable of establishing the tranquillity and prosperity of the empire on a permanent basis, we consider ourselves bound to retire : accordingly, we have tendered to his majesty the resignation of our several employments, and he has been graciously pleased to dispense with our services.’ After commenting on the good effects of past exertions, his lordship adverted to their successors in office ; and added :— ‘ It is our consolation to reflect, that the same vigorous line of conduct will be still pursued : no change of measures will take place ; but the system, which has already proved so salutary, will be maintained by our successors. Though we may differ from them in some points, in most there is no difference between us ; and while they continue to act in a firm, resolute, and manly manner, they shall have our steady support.’ Lord Spencer confirmed the accuracy of this statement regarding the cause of the change in administration.

His majesty, before his indisposition, had appointed lord Hawkesbury secretary of state for the foreign department, and placed lord St. Vincent at the head of the admiralty : after his

recovery, he conferred on Mr. Addington, through the recommendation of Mr. Pitt, the two posts held by that minister.

Mr. Addington had acted with great propriety and impartiality, as speaker of the house of commons ; but his talents were better suited to the meridian of that chair, than the arduous office to which he was now elevated, in times which demanded political talents of the first order. Lord Eldon, chief justice of the common pleas, received the great seal : lords Hobart and Pelham were nominated secretaries of state in the room of Mr. Dundas and the duke of Portland : Mr. Yorke succeeded Mr. Windham as secretary at war ; and his brother, lord Hardwicke, was destined for the viceregal office in Ireland : lord Lewisham was placed at the head of the board of control ; and in this general change, the duke of Portland and lord Westmorland alone retained their stations in the cabinet ; the former as president of the council, the latter as lord privy seal.

The long-expected motion of lord Darnley produced a spirited debate : after strongly censuring the political mismanagement and unprecedented prodigality of the late minister, he proposed that such an inquiry should be instituted, as might point out remedies for the disorders of the state : he was ably supported by the earl of Carlisle, the marquis of Lansdowne, and earl Fitzwilliam ; but lord Grenville was at the head of a majority of peers, who effectually counteracted his design ; in which, however, the public took an increased interest.

In the lower house, the necessity of inquiry was strongly urged by Mr. Grey, who remarked, ‘ that in the best times of our constitution, such investigations had been permitted, with very beneficial effects ; though by the late premier they had been discountenanced and exploded : he hoped, however, that the new minister would not discourage a scrutiny, which was loudly called for by a series of ill-concerted schemes : it was idle to boast of conquests, which were scarcely felt by a people groaning under a ruinous weight of taxation ; while the great object of the war,—the repression of the power of France,—was so far from being effected, that, by the folly of the late ministers, she had reached a point of aggrandisement, to which Louis XIV. had never aspired. Their imbecility had encouraged the designs of an enemy, at whose humiliation they aimed : not knowing how to direct their efforts, they had acted, not as the adversaries, but as the friends of France : from year to year, they had held out false promises and delusive

hopes : they had added £270,000,000 to the public debt, and £17,000,000 to the annual taxes ; yet amidst this distress, they boasted of leaving the country in a most flourishing state, and thereby added insult to injury : finally, they had increased the influence of the crown, in proportion as they had invaded the liberties of the people.' Mr. Grey's motion, after having been strenuously supported by Sir William Young and lord Temple, called up Mr. Pitt in defence of himself, and the system which he had pursued.

He stated, that he should have kept silence, or said very little, but for the insinuations which had been thrown out relative to his retreat from office : it was not from a sense of the unimportance of the question, that he felt unwilling to obtrude himself on their notice ; but because the decision might safely be left to the judgment of the house : it was not to be supposed that the arguments of the mover and his friends could alter the principles on which that house had acted for the last eight years : the same system still demanded the support of parliament ; and if contrary principles should prevail, national ruin would not be far distant : of such ruin, however, there was no appearance ; because there was no probability that the advice of those, who by their arguments supported our enemies, would be taken as a remedy for alleged evils : he was sorry to find some members, who had hitherto concurred with him, inclined to vote for a motion adverse to him, because they had no confidence in his friends, the new ministers ; such conduct being not only unfair and unkind to himself, but injurious to the public. The persons who now claimed the confidence of the house professed the principles of those who had long enjoyed it : but gentlemen demurred to the claim, alleging that they must know why the late ministers resigned office, and how their successors are disposed to act : he did not suppose that they really desired any information on the latter point ; for they knew the abilities and characters of the leaders of the new administration ; but on the former topic, he would communicate what he had no wish to conceal : he was inclined to believe that the few remaining benefits, of which the catholics had not yet participated, might be safely added to the favors which had been so bounteously granted to them in the present reign : before the union, this step would have been hazardous ; but the danger ceased when the protestant establishment was more fully secured. It was a comprehensive system which he wished to propose ; to relinquish points certainly intended once as securities, but which he deemed in some respects

ineffectual; and to procure a more consistent and rational security both in church and state, by varying the mode, without subverting the principle, which the wisdom of our ancestors had adopted: he only proposed to take away those restrictions which no reasonable man would wish to enforce, if sufficient security could exist without them; he did not think that the grant of high offices to catholics, or their admission into parliament, with such guards and constitutional tests as he or others might advise, would be attended with danger: but, when he submitted the affair to the consideration of the cabinet, such objections were made to it by high authority, that he found himself debarred from bringing it forward in that mode which was most likely to render it successful. If the measure had been one of little importance, he would have yielded his opinion, and retained his office; but, as it appeared to him so momentous, that he could not conscientiously abandon it, he deemed it a point of duty to retire. It was not true that he had pledged himself to the catholics, either before or since the union, to recommend their case to parliament: they merely expected it, from being acquainted with his sentiments on the subject. In adverting to the war, he boasted of the success which had attended it; but surprised the house by speaking of the 'unexampled economy' with which it had been conducted: he strongly reprobated the pretensions of the Russian confederacy; and concluded with expressing his decided opposition to the motion.

Mr. Fox, beginning with the neutral question, observed, that he could not fully agree with the northern confederates in the opinion, 'that free bottoms make free goods;' yet he wished for a greater latitude in that respect than Mr. Pitt and his successor were inclined to allow; nor did he think that the claim of search, when one or more ships of war escorted a fleet of traders, ought to be enforced, unless very strong grounds of suspicion existed. He exulted in the triumphs of our navy, but hoped that it might not be employed in such a contest as that which ministers were now provoking. To the general management of the war, he could not give the praise which the late cabinet arrogated to themselves: ill-concerted expeditions marked its progress; disasters had occurred which might easily have been avoided; and the national resources had been shamefully wasted: insincere negotiations had been carried on to dupe the people, and a fair offer of peace scornfully rejected on pretence of its being the first consul's interest

to take an early opportunity of violating it. On the whole, an inquiry seemed to promise benefit; especially as the new minister appeared devoted to the old system. This insinuation called up Mr. Addington, who denied that he was pledged to any system; and assured the house that his conduct should be influenced solely by a regard for the general welfare. He was supported in his resistance to an inquiry by a majority of 186.

The Rev. Horne Tooke having been elected a representative of Old Sarum, a question arose respecting the eligibility of persons in holy orders to a seat in the house of commons: lord Temple took the lead in it, and a committee was appointed to search for precedents. His lordship contended, that in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., the inferior clergy petitioned for this right, but did not presume to claim it; and the house had in many instances rejected clerical intruders. As to Mr. Horne Tooke's alleged abandonment of the priesthood, he denied that any man, once ordained, could divest himself of the clerical character: he therefore moved 'that the late election of Old Sarum should be superseded by a new choice.' Mr. Addington was of opinion, that at the time when the clergy sat in that house, they were not regarded as representatives of the people; and that there were no instances of the return of members described as in holy orders: he wished, however, that the dispute should be decided by a bill, rather than by a premature motion for a new writ; and Sir William Scott strongly recommended the bill on the ground of reason as well as law. Mr. Tooke contended that nothing but positive assertion, unsupported by scriptural authority, ecclesiastical law, church history, or parliamentary precedent, had been advanced by the advocates of the bill: he declared his readiness to co-operate with the minister in a general act for the exclusion of the clergy, if it would afford a prospect of an increase in moral and religious wisdom; but he objected to the practice of punishing an individual by an *ex post facto* law. A bill of exclusion passed both houses; though in that of the lords it was opposed by lord Thurlow as unconstitutional and unjust. Mr. Tooke was permitted to remain a member of the present parliament, until its dissolution should take place.

In this first session of the united parliament, a peer of both realms, the philanthropic lord Moira, succeeded in procuring an act to relieve insolvent debtors, who having, without fraud, incurred debts not exceeding £1500, should surrender the whole of their effects; from which alone, and not from the

abridgment of liberty, creditors could receive any benefit. In the course of the session various new regulations were made for encouraging the importation of wheat, American flour, and rice, to lessen the growing pressure of scarcity.

The new minister thought himself bound to follow the example of his predecessor in vigilantly guarding against the intrigues of sedition; and on the report of a secret committee, strengthened by an opinion that the disaffected were endeavoring to turn the temporary distress of the people into serious discontent, he proposed and carried a renewal of the habeas corpus suspension act. Whatever might be his reluctance to increase the public burdens, he found it expedient to demand additional supplies; and, in consequence of the suggestions of Mr. Tierney, moved a series of resolutions, importing that the amount of the funded debt on the first of February, 1793, was £238,231,000, but that the commissioners for its redemption had reduced it to £227,989,000; that, after a lapse of eight years, it amounted to £484,365,000, when £52,000,000, purchased by the commissioners, were deducted; that the annual charge incurred by it, at the former period, was £10,325,000, and at the latter £20,700,000; that the sum to be raised in Great Britain for the current year, the interest of the aggregate debt included, was nearly £69,000,000; and that the future peace establishment, without any naval or military augmentation beyond that fixed at the last peace, could not be estimated at less than £28,979,000. These motions were sanctioned by the house, and recorded as points of reference. The session terminated on the first of July.

Mr. Addington entered on his arduous duties supported by the good will and personal esteem of most parties in parliament; and as Mr. Pitt individually rendered him efficient assistance, this led many to suspect, not only that the ex-minister acted as chief manager behind the scenes, but that his retirement was merely a temporary expedient to get rid of an implied promise to the catholics, and cast the odium of refusal on irresponsible shoulders: this suspicion was heightened, when they observed how the new administration were treated by some of the late minister's satellites; especially by Canning, who neither in his speeches nor his writings affected to conceal the contempt with which he regarded them; ascribing their pacific disposition to pusillanimity, and their moderation to weakness; while he described their oratory as the mere drivelling of dotards. Hence it was thought, that Mr. Pitt, though not unwilling that they should do their work, was anxious that their power should

cease with their vocation, and that they should never acquire that consideration in the country which might enable them to struggle for place when it was thought proper to depose them. Though the premier retired from office without any compensation for his previous labors, this was not the case with all the members of his cabinet: lord Grenville obtained, in addition to other sources of emolument during his own life, a pension during that of his lady: Mr. Dundas was soon created a peer by the title of viscount Melville, with an annuity of £2000 from the East India company; and lord Loughborough was gratified with the earldom of Rosslyn.

All attempts at accommodation with the confederated powers by negotiation having failed, recourse was had to stronger measures. In the beginning of this year an embargo had been laid on Swedish, Danish, and Russian ships, as a matter of retaliation; and the British envoys at the northern courts had received instructions to make known his majesty's determination not to recognise their new naval code: but as they seemed equally determined to reject all remonstrances, an appeal to arms could no longer be delayed.

The prince regent, who governed Denmark for his father, had been long making preparations for war; in which he was now joined by the king of Prussia, who took this occasion to invade Hanover, which he had solemnly guaranteed, and subject the country to his own dominion; while the landgrave of Hesse took forcible possession of the city of Hamburg with 15,000 troops, and compelled the senate to lay an embargo on British merchandise. During these proceedings, a naval armament had assembled in Yarmouth roads, consisting of eighteen ships of the line and frigates, with numerous bomb-vessels and gun-boats, having on board several regiments of marines and riflemen: this force was placed under Sir Hyde Parker, a good and generous man, but a weak and vacillating officer; whom Nelson, who was appointed second in command, found at his station, 'nervous about dark nights and fields of ice:'¹² a most unworthy arrangement; and discreditable both to the ministers, and to the king, who seems on all occasions to have treated the hero of the Nile with studied neglect.¹³ The

¹² Southey's Life of Nelson.

¹³ Many instances might be selected. The following testimony will suffice: it alludes to Nelson's first presentation at court after the glorious victory of the Nile:—'Nelson is here: he gave me an account of his reception at court, which was not very flattering

fleet sailed on the twelfth of March, carrying Mr. Vansittart as an envoy; for the British cabinet most unwisely endeavored even now to obtain its ends by negociation, occasioning thereby a delay which was dearly paid for by the best blood of Britain and Denmark. According to the Danes themselves, the intelligence that a British fleet had arrived off the Sound, when their means of defence were far from complete, produced a much greater alarm in Copenhagen, than its actual arrival before that city, when they had well profited by the leisure so absurdly given them. All this was directly contrary to Nelson's wishes: but at the Scaw, Mr. Nicholas Vansittart left the armament to proceed with his flag of truce to the capital, from whence he returned with a report, that he had left the Danish government hostile in the highest degree to that of Great Britain, and in a state of preparation far exceeding what our cabinet had considered possible. Nelson, however, not being one of these slow negociators, advised that no time should be lost in attacking the enemy: luckily, Sir Hyde Parker yielded to his energetic persuasions, and it was determined to force the passage of the Sound: this was effected without loss, by keeping near to the Swedish shore, and thus avoiding the heavy fire of Cronenburg castle, the governor of which had declared that he would not permit the ships to pass it unmolested. On the thirty-first of March, the fleet anchored between the isle of Huen and Copenhagen; when Sir Hyde, lord Nelson, and admiral Graves, with some others of the superior officers, proceeded in a lugger to reconnoitre the enemy's preparations; a formidable line of nineteen ships and floating batteries, lying in the king's channel, between a large shoal and the city, flanked at one end by strong forts on the Crown islands at the mouth of the harbor: some line of battle ships also guarded the harbor; and heavy batteries were erected on the isle of Amak.

Nelson, with his usual zeal, offered to lead the attack, requiring for that service ten sail of the line, with all the smaller craft: Sir Hyde, having added two line of battle ships to the number demanded, prudently left the whole business to his management; and after the intricate channel had been sounded

to him, after having been the admiration of that of Naples. His majesty merely asked him if he had recovered his health; and then, without waiting for an answer, turned to general ———, and talked to him near half an hour, in great good humor: it could not be about his successes.'—Life of Lord Collingwood, vol. i. p. 113.

and buoyed under Nelson's own inspection, the whole squadron moved forward on the morning of the second of April. The difficulty of the navigation and the ignorance of the pilots were so great, that, notwithstanding every possible precaution, some of the ships grounded; and others were unable to take their proper station in the line; and, but for the quick discernment and promptitude of Nelson himself, who, when the grounded ships did not answer his signal to close with the enemy, instantly altered the order of sailing, the whole object of the expedition would have been frustrated by the greater part of his fleet going ashore. Each ship, as she arrived nearly opposite to her appointed station, let her anchor go by the stern, and presented her broadside to the enemy; the distance at which the action took place being about a cable's length: of the gun-brigs, no more than one could be brought into action through the baffling currents; and only two bomb-vessels could reach their station on the Middle Ground, so as to open their mortars on the arsenal, firing over the contending fleets. Captain Riou took the vacant station against the crown batteries with the frigates; attempting, with that inadequate force, a service, in which three sail of the line had been directed to assist: the station of the *Elephant*, which carried lord Nelson's flag, was in the centre, opposite to the Danish commodore Fischer, who commanded a sixty-two gun ship called the *Dannebrog*. The action commenced soon after ten o'clock: before half-past eleven, it became general; and at one, when few, if any, of the enemy's ships had ceased to fire, the *Isis*, *Monarch*, and *Bellona* had received very serious injury; while the division of the commander-in-chief was unable, for want of wind, to render them any assistance: being, however, near enough to the scene of action to know the unfavorable accidents which had weakened the squadron, and fearful of the event when he saw the enemy's fire unslackened after three hours' engagement, he determined to make the signal of recall: he was urged to delay it till communication could be made with Nelson; but in his opinion the danger was too pressing: he was aware of the consequence to his own personal reputation; but he thought it would be cowardly in him to leave Nelson to bear the whole shame of the failure, if shame it should be deemed. 'Under a mistaken judgment therefore,' says Mr. Southey;¹⁴ 'but with this disinterested and generous feeling, he made the signal for retreat.' All the notice Nelson took of it,

¹⁴ Life of Nelson.

was to give strict orders that his own signal for close action should be kept flying, and, if necessary, nailed to the mast: then, turning to captain Foley, he said;—‘ You know I have only one eye; I have a right to be sometimes blind;’ and, putting the glass to his blind eye, he exclaimed,—‘ Really I don’t see the signal of recall.’ The action continued with unabated fury till about two o’clock, when the greater part of the enemy’s line had ceased to fire; some of the lighter ships were adrift; and the carnage on board their vessels, whose crews had been continually re-inforced, was dreadful: it was, however, difficult to take possession of those that struck, because the batteries on shore and on Amak island protected them; and because an irregular fire was kept up from the ships themselves, as often as they were fresh manned: in this manner the *Dannebrog* renewed her fire, till she was not only silenced and burned, but nearly every man in the praams, ahead and astern of her, was killed. By half-past two the action had ceased along that part of the line which was astern of the *Elephant*; and Nelson, seeing the manner in which his boats were fired on when they went to take possession of the prizes, declared that this irregular proceeding must be stopped, or a fireship sent to burn them. At this time, half the shot from the Danish batteries struck the surrendered ships, and the returning fire of the English was still more fatal to the poor devoted Danes. The admiral, ever as humane as he was brave, was inexpressibly shocked at this massacre; and, with his own peculiar presence of mind, retired into the stern gallery, to write a letter to the crown prince, saying ‘ that he had been commanded to spare Denmark when she no longer resisted; that her line of defence had struck to the British flag; and that, if the fire were continued, he must be obliged to destroy all the floating batteries which he had taken, without having the power of saving their brave defenders, who were the brothers, and ought not to be the enemies, of Englishmen.’ When this letter was folded up, a wafer was given to Nelson in the hurry of the moment; but he instantly ordered a candle to be brought up out of the cockpit; and, having applied wax to the paper, affixed a larger seal to it than usual; observing, ‘ This is no time to appear hurried and informal.’ The despatch was immediately conveyed ashore through the contending fleets by captain Sir Frederick Thesiger, who found the crown prince near the Sally-port, animating his people at the batteries, and sharing their dangers. During his absence, Nelson, having consulted with captains Fremantle and Foley, decided that the

best thing which could be done, was to remove the fleet out of the intricate channel from which it had to retreat. In somewhat more than half an hour, the Danish adjutant-general Lindholm came, bearing a flag of truce ; on which, the batteries ceased to fire, and the action closed after four hours' continuance. As he came with an inquiry from the prince respecting the object of Nelson's note, the British admiral wrote, in reply, ' that his object was that of humanity : he therefore was willing that the action should cease, and the wounded Danes be taken on shore ; the prizes being burned or carried off, as he, lord Nelson, should think fit : ' he added, ' that he should consider this the greatest victory he had ever gained, if it should be the cause of a happy reconciliation between his own prince and the king of Denmark.' Sir F. Thesiger was despatched a second time with the reply ; and the Danish adjutant-general was referred to the commander-in-chief for a conference on this overture. Lindholm, assenting to this proposal, proceeded to the London, about four miles distant ; and Nelson, taking advantage of the critical moment, made signals for his leading ships to weigh in succession : they had the shoal to clear ; they were dreadfully crippled ; and their course lay under the Trekroner battery.

The Monarch led the way in a most shattered condition, having received twenty-six shot between wind and water, and lost 210 men in killed and wounded : she touched on a shoal, but was pushed over it by the Ganges taking her amidships ; while the Defiance and Elephant, as well as the Désirée frigate, grounded at about a mile's distance from the Trekroner, and remained fixed for many hours. As Nelson left the Elephant to follow Lindholm, he observed, ' I have fought contrary to orders, and shall perhaps be hanged ; but never mind.' It was speedily agreed that there should be a suspension of hostilities for twenty-four hours ; that all the prizes should be surrendered ; and that the wounded Danes should be carried ashore ; for no surgeons had been provided on board, and the mutilated wretches were bleeding to death for want of assistance. The boats of Sir Hyde's division were employed all night in getting the ships afloat and bringing out the prizes, which consisted of six line of battle ships and eight praams ; but only one, the Holstein, of sixty-four guns, could be brought to England.

The battle of Copenhagen was, by lord Nelson's own account, the most dreadful that he had ever witnessed. Captain Riou, who particularly distinguished himself, was severed in

two by a raking shot from the crown batteries, which he had nobly opposed: Captain Mosse, the commander of the *Monarch*, also fell in action; and the total loss of the British, in killed and wounded, exceeded one thousand; while that of the Danes, including prisoners, was not less than six.

Nelson, having landed on the day after the battle, had an interview with the crown prince, for the purpose of arranging preliminaries; and, at the repast which followed, with all the sincerity of his character, he bore witness to the valor of his foes. The negotiations lasted five days; and on the ninth, he landed again; when a difficulty arose respecting the duration of the armistice. The Danish commissioners fairly stated their fears of Russia; and Nelson frankly told them that his reason for demanding a long term was, that he might have time to act against the Russian fleet, and then return to Copenhagen. Neither party would yield on this point, and one of the Danes hinted at the renewal of hostilities; on which, Nelson spiritedly exclaimed,—‘Tell him we are ready at a moment; ready to bombard this very night.’ The conference, however, proceeded amicably, though the commissioners could not come to an agreement, and left the admiral to settle it himself with the prince, who consented to an armistice of fourteen weeks. For this great victory Nelson was raised to the rank of viscount; an inadequate reward, as his biographer justly states, for services so splendid, and of such paramount importance to the interests of England.

It was now intended to act against the Russians, before the breaking up of the frost should enable them to leave Revel; but Sir Hyde Parker, having heard that the Swedes had put to sea, to effect a junction with their allies, altered his course, in hopes of intercepting that part of the confederated force. On the nineteenth, the Swedish fleet was discovered; but, on perceiving the English, it retired, and took shelter behind the batteries of Carlsrona. Sir Hyde lost no time in acquainting the governor with the armistice that had been concluded between Great Britain and Denmark; and called on the Swedish government to renounce the northern confederacy. In the mean time, news was received of the assassination of Paul, and the accession of his son Alexander, who began his reign by abolishing the injurious innovations of his predecessor, and ordering all British sailors, who were in confinement, to be conveyed to the ports in which their ships were stationed. Hostilities now ceased on all sides: lord St. Helens was afterwards sent to St. Petersburg, as minister ple-

nipotentiary ; and, on the seventeenth of June, a convention was concluded between Russia and Great Britain, and which afterwards comprehended Sweden and Denmark, recognising the principle contended for by this country ; while such restrictive regulations were imposed on the right of search, as might prevent any unwarrantable exercise of it on neutral vessels.

The attachment of Portugal to its ancient ally now excited the attention of the French ruler, who induced the king of Spain to declare war against that country in March : a counter-declaration from the court of Lisbon, worthy of the best days of its monarchy, was issued on the twenty-first of April, accompanied by preparations for defence : but the Spanish army, having entered the Alentejo, and advanced to the Tagus, almost without opposition, a treaty was signed at Badajos on the sixth of June, which not only gave the province of Olivenza to Spain, but shut the Portuguese ports against English vessels. The French government, however, refused to concur in this arrangement, unless certain places in Portugal were occupied by its troops ; and general St. Cyr, advancing at the head of 24,000 men, invested the fortress of Almeida, within thirty leagues of the capital. The court was now alarmed ; and a British subsidy of £300,000 having been unaccompanied by a body of troops, as was originally intended, a treaty was signed at Madrid on the twenty-ninth of September, on terms highly favorable to France. During this contest, the British ministry, fearing lest the island of Madeira should be given up to the enemy, sent a squadron thither, with a small body of land forces, who took possession of the forts commanding the bay of Funchal.

The troops, destined against Egypt in the preceding year, were now re-embarked, and sent to Marmorica, on the coast of Caramania, under an expectation of deriving assistance from the Turks : in this respect, however, they were totally disappointed ; while the other disadvantages under which they labored were such as have seldom been experienced by men in a similar situation : they knew little or nothing of the region which they were sent to attack ; they possessed but one map, and that a very incorrect one ; they had no guide but Sir Sidney Smith, and he was unacquainted with the interior of the country ; and they were so ill-informed of the state of the enemy's force, that they estimated it only at 10,000 French and 5000 auxiliaries ; when in reality it amounted, including natives, to more than 35,000, habituated to the country, inured

to danger, and elated with success. The forces under Sir Ralph Abercromby did not much exceed 12,000 effective men; yet, notwithstanding this disparity, and so many other discouraging circumstances, he determined to make an attempt, at least, to dislodge the French from Egypt. Aboukir-bay was the place chosen for the disembarkation; and on the eighth of March, the first division made good its landing, in the face of a large body of French, very advantageously posted on sand-hills forming the concave segment of a circle, and under a heavy fire of grape-shot from artillery, as well as the cannon of Aboukir castle. Although the front of the landing-place was narrow, and commanded by a steep hill, on which the French had taken a position apparently inaccessible; the troops, when they leaped on the beach, formed in a regular line, as if they had been at a review; and, advancing with the true British weapon, the bayonet, forced the enemy to retire with a loss of 300 men, eight pieces of artillery, and a considerable number of horses: the boats immediately returned for the remainder of the forces; and, by the zealous exertions of the navy, all were landed before night. On the twelfth, the British army moved forwards, and came within sight of the enemy, advantageously posted on a ridge between the canal of Alexandria and the sea.

The British advanced to the attack next day, marching in two lines, by the left, with the intention of turning the right flank of the enemy: this design, however, was anticipated by the French commander, who, descending from the heights, attacked the leading brigades of both lines, which were consequently obliged to change their position; and this was not done without considerable loss: for, though the English had the advantage in numbers, since only one division of the French was engaged, they suffered severely from the enemy's superiority in cavalry and artillery: their commander therefore did not think it prudent to persist in his intention of forcing the heights, but ordered the army to return to the position which it occupied in the morning: in that position it sustained and repelled the memorable attack of the twenty-first of March. The preceding evening, Sir Sidney Smith received a letter from an Arab chief, apprising him of Menou's arrival at Alexandria, and of his intention to fall on the English with his whole force on the following day; but the commander-in-chief, unacquainted with the character of these Arabian tribes, did not give that credit to the friendly communication, which the intelligent officer, to whom it was addressed, considered

it entitled : neither has general Menou, though the disposition of his forces was excellently arranged, escaped severe criticism for his precipitancy. With the advantages he possessed in point of position, and the city of Alexandria in his rear, his part was to act defensively ; since the British general, from his situation, must soon have become the assailant, or have abandoned the enterprise ; in which latter case, the English might have been attacked at the greatest possible disadvantage during their re-embarkation : the French commander, however, by his rashness freed his antagonist from the necessity of making any hazardous attempt on his camp. The action commenced in the morning, before daylight, by a feigned attack on the British left, in which the French were repulsed : but their most vigorous efforts were directed against the right of our army ; and the attack was made with incredible impetuosity : they had turned its right flank ; and the twenty-eighth regiment, which bore the first brunt of the engagement, with difficulty maintained its position, though assisted by the fifty-eighth and the twenty-third : the numbers of the enemy were dreadfully superior, and all must have given way ; when the brave forty-second rushed to the support of their fellow-soldiers, and became engaged with the French Invincibles, whom they completely vanquished, and took their standard :¹⁵ but while they were pursuing their victory, a body of cavalry, coming round, charged them in the rear, and a fresh column marched up to them in front. Their colonel, Alexander Stewart, made every disposition possible under such fearful circumstances ; and the brave highlanders were engaged at the same time in front, flank, and rear ; with infantry and cavalry : even when broken, they continued individually to resist ; and the conduct of each man exalted the renown of his regiment. The contest was extremely obstinate ; but the French were ultimately thrown into confusion. A column of infantry also attempted to penetrate the British centre, but with no better success : a corps of light troops, supported both by infantry and cavalry, also advanced to keep in check their left, which was the weakest part of the line ; but all efforts were vain : victory declared completely in favor of the English, who remained masters of the field, with a loss of nearly 2000 men killed, wounded, and missing ; while that of their adversaries was computed at double the number. But the triumph of our troops

¹⁵ It was lost again, and retaken by Antony Lutz, a private, in the regiment of Minorca.

was dearly purchased by the loss of their general, who received his mortal wound, by a musket ball, in the thigh, though he concealed it from the army till the period for exertion was past; his strength then failing him, he was carried from the field on board the admiral's ship, where he died on the twenty-eighth of March, universally lamented for his great and good qualities both of head and heart.

The command of the British army now devolved on general Hutchinson, who ably perfected the work which his gallant predecessor had commenced: the situation to which he succeeded was an arduous one; for though the French were defeated, they had lost no ground: they were still in great force both at Alexandria and Cairo; and the whole of Egypt was in their possession. The new commander lost no time in advancing towards Alexandria, where the principal force of the enemy was concentrated; and in order to facilitate the blockade, by debarring the French army from all communication with the interior, the famous canal was cut, the water of the sea was let into the lake Mareotis, and the capital turned into an island: in the mean time, the town and castle of Rosetta were taken by a division under colonel Spencer, aided by a body of Turks; the French garrison offering but a feeble resistance, and retiring across the Nile. The English and Turkish forces then proceeded to attack the enemy near Ramamieh, which commanded the entrance of the Delta, where they defeated and drove them towards Cairo; and on the following day, the place surrendered. General Hutchinson now proceeded to the reduction of Cairo, in preference to undertaking the siege of Alexandria; and, about the middle of June, arrived in the vicinity of the capital of Egypt: the capitan pasha posted himself at Gizeh, on the opposite side of the Nile; and the grand vizir took a position within cannon-shot of the city. Cairo being thus completely invested, general Hutchinson wrote to general Belliard, who commanded the garrison, calling on him to prevent a needless effusion of blood, and offering the most honorable terms of capitulation: these at first were peremptorily refused; though Belliard had no serious intention of defending such extensive fortifications, with the inhabitants wholly hostile to the French, and his own troops desirous of returning to Europe: after a negociation, therefore, of several days, terms of surrender were signed, by virtue of which, the French army, with all private property belonging to the officers and men, should be conveyed by the allied powers to the nearest French ports on the Medi-

terranean ; while general Menou, who commanded in Alexandria, was left at liberty to avail himself of this convention, if he pleased. While these transactions were going on in Egypt, general Baird landed at Cossire on the Red Sea, with a force of 7500 men from India ; and, advancing across the desert, arrived at Ghinnah on the thirtieth of June ; from whence he proceeded to Lower Egypt, to assist the British troops in its reduction.

The convention of Cairo not being accepted by Menou, the combined English and Turkish armies, on the seventeenth of August, commenced the siege of Alexandria, which was defended by 312 pieces of cannon : the approaches were made with skill and courage by the besiegers, who drove the enemy from post to post ; till the French commander, finding no prospect of relief from Europe, and no hopes of ultimate success from resistance, agreed to surrender, on the conditions accepted by general Belliard. Thus, with a very inferior force, did the British army wrest an important country from their enemies, and restore it to their allies : the effusion of so much blood, and the expenditure of so much money in this expedition, might form a subject for lamentation, when we recollect that the French evacuated Egypt on nearly the same conditions as had been stipulated at El Arisch ; but it must be recollected that the terms of that convention would have transferred the French army from Egypt to Italy, at a time when it might have proceeded instantly to act against our allies : but when Menou capitulated, Austria had concluded a treaty with France ; and the return of the French troops to Europe was no longer a matter of importance.

Much more serious consequences resulted from the inconsiderate permission granted by general Hutchinson to Menou, to despatch a swift-sailing vessel for the purpose of apprising his government of the capitulation ; by which means intelligence of the final conquest of Egypt reached Paris before it was known by the British cabinet. In consequence of the knowledge thus acquired, the first consul derived great advantages in a treaty of peace, which he hastily concluded with the Porte ; holding out the evacuation of Egypt to the Turkish ambassador, who was ignorant of the fact, as a consideration for privileges highly advantageous to French interests.

Early information, however, of this capitulation was still more desirable for the British ministers on account of the pacific negotiations in which they were then engaged ; for had it been known to them in proper time, there can be but little

doubt that they would have insisted on terms more favorable than those actually obtained. It remains only to be observed, that the honor of planning and carrying on this Egyptian expedition belongs exclusively to lord Melville, who strenuously promoted it, notwithstanding the irresolution of Pitt and the reluctance of the king.

While the possession of Egypt was uncertain, Buonaparte determined to direct all his efforts against the only enemy yet unsubdued by his arms or arts : accordingly, immense masses of troops were assembled on the northern coasts of France ; whose ports, as well as those of Holland and Belgium, were filled with armed vessels ; and deeds about to be performed by the heroes of Marengo and Hohenlinden against the British isles, were continually vaunted in proclamations and manifestos : but though the French ruler affected to consider England as a nation of shopkeepers, and her sons as rendered effeminate by commercial wealth, a spirit of patriotic defiance was raised against his menaces from one end of the land to the other ; and it was calculated, that at this period, the armed force of Great Britain by sea and land, besides innumerable volunteers, consisted of nearly 500,000 men. Our brave seamen, in the mean time, did not suffer the French flotilla to lie idle in port : on the second of August, lord Nelson, having hoisted his flag, as vice-admiral of the blue, on board the *Medusa*, proceeded with two sail of the line, two frigates, and several smaller craft, to Boulogne, where a large number of armed vessels, and lugger-rigged flats, called praams, were assembled : perceiving twenty-four of these anchored in a line before the harbor, he ordered the bomb-vessels to weigh ; and these threw their shells with such effect, that in the course of a few hours, three of the brigs and flats were sunk, and six driven ashore. Being of opinion, that the remainder might be captured by the boats of his squadron, he sent them against the enemy on the night of the fifteenth of August, in five divisions : that commanded by the gallant captain Parker commenced the attack with undaunted courage ; but an unforeseen obstacle baffled all his exertions : a very strong netting was traced up to the lower yards of the French vessels, which were fastened with chains, not only to each other, but to the ground ; and so invulnerable was the foe, when thus defended, that captain Parker's crew were repelled with great slaughter in attempting to board a brig ; he himself receiving a mortal wound, while several other boats were sunk or taken, with a very considerable loss of life. But the exertions of our naval heroes

were not confined to the narrow limits of the Channel: in March, admiral Duckworth made an easy conquest of several Swedish and Danish settlements; which were restored to those powers, in virtue of the treaty of St. Petersburg. The islands of St. Martin and Eustatius were reduced; while in the East, the Batavian settlement of Ternate, the principal of the Molucca islands, surrendered to a small squadron under captain Haynes.

Sir James Saumarez was blockading the port of Cadiz, when he received intelligence that three French line-of-battle ships and a frigate were lying at anchor in the road of Algesiras, under cover of batteries on shore; and he determined immediately to attack them with six sail of the line: but a change of wind taking place, at a time when a considerable impression was made on the flag-ship of admiral Linois by captain Stirling in the *Pompée*, and the *Hannibal* taking the ground under a battery, while her commander, captain Ferris, was executing a bold manœuvre, Sir James was induced to retire, with a loss of more than 360 men in killed and wounded. This disappointment however only stimulated the British seamen for another contest: the ships were repaired with all possible expedition; and when the French, joined by a Spanish squadron, were sailing toward Cadiz; the rear of the united fleet was attacked, during the night of the twelfth of July, in a very dexterous manner. Captain Keats of the *Superb*, sailing between the Spanish admiral and another three-decker of 112 guns, fired his broadside, and retired; when those two ships, by a mutual error, mistaking each other for enemies, engaged in conflict: one of them took fire; the flames rapidly extended to the other; and both blew up, with the loss of about 2000 men. Discouraged by so melancholy an accident, admiral Linois accelerated his retreat, leaving the *San Antonio*, of seventy-four guns, in the hands of the victors. Sir James Saumarez for this action received the thanks of parliament, with a pension of £1200 per annum.

During these hostilities, an active intercourse was carried on between the two belligerent governments, whose subjects had become heartily desirous of peace. The negotiation was managed in London by lord Hawkesbury and M. Otto: it continued during the summer; but in its progress many impediments arose, as well as some curious discussions concerning the liberty of the press; to the attacks of which Buonaparte was extremely sensitive: being apprehensive lest it should be employed to expose his own character and views, he was very

anxious to restrain its powers ; little knowing the difficulty, or rather the impossibility, of such an attempt in Great Britain. At length, the cabinet of Paris, having received certain information of Menou's capitulation, hastened negociations ; and on the first of October, when the French were threatening an invasion, and the English making great defensive preparations for it, preliminaries of peace were signed ; and the intelligence diffused general satisfaction throughout both nations.

The great objects which the former administration had professed to seek, were security to Great Britain, restitution to her allies, and independence to Europe ; but the separate treaties of those allies, and the preponderating power of France on the continent, had so narrowed the question, that England had very little to regard beyond the first of these points : this was considered as sufficiently established by her great naval successes, her commercial prosperity, and her vast colonial possessions in both hemispheres. She had proved herself superior to the whole world combined against her on the ocean ; while every attempt to disturb her rights, to invade her dominions, or to impair the sources of her commercial and political greatness, had hitherto recoiled on the authors : it was therefore not thought necessary to insist on retaining all the acquisitions of our valor ; and we agreed to restore them, with the exception of the island of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon. The Cape of Good Hope was to be given back to the Dutch, as a free port ; and the island of Malta to its Order, under the protection of some other European power : the Porte was to be preserved in its integrity ; and France to recognise the republic of the Seven Islands. In order to bring the treaty to a speedy conclusion, lord Cornwallis was despatched to Amiens, where Joseph Buonaparte, the first consul's brother, was deputed to meet him as minister plenipotentiary. In the course of the discussion, so many difficulties were started, and so many fresh demands preferred on the part of France, that for some time the renewal of war seemed not improbable : on the twenty-fifth of March, however, matters were finally arranged, and the definitive treaty was signed, differing from the preliminaries only in the following points :—a part of Portuguese Guiana was given up to France by a new adjustment of boundaries : with regard to Malta, no class of English or French knights was allowed ; and the independence of the island was placed under the guarantee of France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia ; its port being rendered free to all nations : it was

also agreed that the prince of Orange should receive compensation for his loss of property and power.

Thus ended the first act of the revolutionary war, though most persons thought the whole concluded; fancying that the chief ruler of France would find his real interests in the preservation of peace; and relying on his repeated declaration of regret, that the two first nations of the world should waste their resources, and the blood of their people, in enmity. Some persons however took a different view of the subject, seeing neither 'indemnity for the past, nor security for the future,' in the restitution of all our colonial conquests, and in the recognition of that gigantic plan of continental sovereignty, which had been conceived by the first founders of the French republic, and pursued with unremitting diligence by its successive rulers.

Before we conclude this chapter, the great alteration which took place in the internal state of the country, during the preceding contest, requires a brief notice, though an elaborate examination of the causes which led to it belongs rather to statistics than to general history. At the commencement of that contest, the population of Great Britain, though not very accurately determined, was computed to be about 10,000,000; at the end it had increased to 11,000,000: during the intervening period, the amount of taxes raised from the people was £281,644,493; and as government spent the enormous sum of £469,260,938, the difference between those sums, or £187,616,445, was borrowed, and generally at a very high rate of interest. At the beginning of the war, the productive power of the country had risen to a very considerable height; and a spirit of improvement, pervading every class of producers, appeared in the increased produce of the soil, drawn forth by the new system of cropping in rotation, and in the vast extension of all branches of manufactures, through the application of ingenious machinery. These causes enabled British laborers to produce annually about £5,000,000 sterling more than at the end of the American war; which additional sum went to increase the fund which constituted wages: for the profits of the capitalist at each period were about the same; while taxes, tithes, and rent were nearly stationary; so that all the advantages arising from the increase in productive labor were enjoyed by the laborers themselves; and if, while profit, rent, &c. continued stationary, the productive power had still gone on, as it afterwards did, a period of great prosperity would have opened to the laborious classes.

But affairs soon took a different turn: immense loans were contracted, which raised the rate of profit on all the capital employed in the country: taxes were increased to a vast extent: alterations in the value of the currency first lowered the real amount of rent, but afterwards raised it to a most baneful height; while other minor circumstances contributed to take away from the productive classes all the benefits which they had for some time enjoyed, through their increased powers of production. In consequence of this state of things, the use and consumption of many necessities of life decreased, and the demand for them declined; until numbers of those, who had been employed in producing them, gave over their labors, and became secondary producers in the capacity of servants, &c., enlisted as soldiers and sailors, or engaged in other trades: and this transfer of labor caused for a time great derangement in the affairs of individuals, as may be seen by an inspection of the bankruptcy lists in the early part of the war, compared with the period immediately preceding it.

Notwithstanding this derangement, the system of loans which was adopted, and the peculiar situation of the country at the time, especially in the manufacturing districts, where a large introduction of machinery had taken place, procured for ministers a general sanction of the war. The vast absorption of money by government, and the unproductive manner in which it was expended, rendered capital comparatively scarce, and profit high; and this high profit was obtained by capitalists, not only on the wealth lent to government, but on all the capital used throughout the country: this of course affected that employed on land; and the rise in produce and rent which soon took place, gave to the proprietors and occupiers of the soil a full compensation for that portion of the war taxes which they paid; and the prosperity of this class of persons, which raised also that of the clergy, who were connected with them by the tithe system, was soon visible in the increased quantity of land brought into culture.

Nothing enabled the laboring part of the population to bear up against their burdens but the increase in their numbers, and the augmentation of their productive power, through the use of machinery:¹⁶ these causes however operated more in checking the fall which would otherwise have taken place in the wages of manufacturers; for agricultural improvements

¹⁶ This was more particularly the case in the cotton manufacture.

were not so great and rapid as to counteract proportionally the rise of profit on the capital employed in agriculture; consequently the wages of the farming laborers declined; and larger sums, required for the relief of the poor in almost every parish, gave evidence of their deteriorated condition. Such were some of the general results of the first stage of this war; favorable to capitalists in all parts of the country, as well as to members of the stock exchange; although the increase of poor-houses and jails might have showed them that something was 'rotten in the state:' these however were their days of triumph; and the most industrious and productive people on the earth were doomed to bring into existence a vast abundance of all things necessary for the support and solace of man; while others carried off the produce of their toil, and consigned them to a miserable portion doled out in the form of charity.

CHAP. XLV.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1801.

Opening of the imperial parliament—King's speech—Debates on the address—Buonaparte's plans—Arrears of the civil list—Pecuniary affairs relating to the prince of Wales—Conduct of Mr. Pitt towards the ministry—Financial scheme—Army and navy, &c.—Alteration made in the sinking fund—Mr. Abbot chosen speaker of the house of commons—Honors paid to Mr. Pitt—Debate on the definitive treaty—Motions relative to the slave-trade—Militia act—Parliamentary rewards—French expedition to St. Domingo—Naval mutiny at Bantry-bay—Buonaparte's extension of his power and influence on the continent—Confirmation of his authority at home—*Concordat*—Institution of the legion of honor—Attractions of his capital—The French recover Guadaloupe, but fail at St. Domingo—Elections in Great Britain—Doubts in the public mind respecting peace, &c.—Change in the sentiments of political parties—Meeting of parliament—King's speech; and address carried—Debates on the supplies, military force, &c.—Increasing dissension between the two governments—Trial and execution of colonel Despard—Opening of parliament—King's speech, and address—Debates—Offer of a coalition made to Mr. Pitt, and rejected—Russian mediation offered without success—Ultimatum proposed to the French government—Lord Whitworth leaves Paris—Seizure of French ships in British ports, and retaliation by Buonaparte—King's message to parliament announcing war—Declaration—Discussion in both houses—Address carried by a large majority—Vote of censure on ministers negatived—Subjects of national defence, finance, supplies, &c.—War declared against Holland—Militia bill—Army of reserve—*Levy en masse*—The measure modified—Volunteers—French preparations for the invasion of England—Act to relieve catholics—Lord Ellenborough's act—Clergy bill—Motion of thanks, &c. to the volunteer corps—Session closes—Speech from the throne—Correspondence between the prince of Wales and his majesty—Irish insurrection—Execution of Emmett and other

traitors—Movements and preparations of the French in consequence of hostilities being renewed—Naval successes of Great Britain.

THE imperial parliament was opened on the twenty-ninth of October by the king in person ; who, having declared his satisfaction at the convention made with the northern powers, by which the essential rights for which we contended were secured, proceeded to state, that preliminaries of peace also had been ratified between himself and the French republic ; and he trusted that this important arrangement, while it manifested the justice and moderation of his views, would also be found conducive to the substantial interests of this country, and honorable to the British character. The proposal of an address, thanking his majesty for the approaches that had been made toward a pacification, gave to Mr. Pitt an opportunity of expressing his opinions. ‘Whatever hopes,’ he said, ‘might have been entertained by him at different periods of the war, he now thought peace was desirable, since the confederacy, which he had strenuously supported, was dissolved ; and he was more anxious about the general complexion of the peace, as affecting the character of this country for honor and generosity, than about any particular acquisition or specific object.’ He was not, indeed, quite contented with the preliminaries ; though he confessed that ministers would not have been justified in rejecting them, if such rejection had protracted the war. To the principle which actuated them in the selection of acquisitions to be retained he gave his hearty approbation : they were such as tended most to augment our maritime strength and colonial security : though he might wish that we had more firmly insisted on retaining the Cape of Good Hope, yet he thought the complete possession of Ceylon was better suited to the safety of our East Indian possessions. In the West Indies, Trinidad was wisely reserved, being preferable to Martinique, not only in point of intrinsic value, but as a protection to our Leeward islands, and with a view to any future operations against the Spanish possessions in South America. As regarded Malta, it was right to place it under the protection of a third power, in order to avoid jealousy. He then referred to the interests of our allies, and the manner in which we had successfully interposed in their favor ; and, in answer to those who said, ‘that we had obtained nothing to balance the extended power of France,’ he observed, ‘that if we had retained all our conquests, the difference would not have been very considerable in point of

security ; all would have been insignificant as a counterpoise to the enormous influence of France on the continent.' It must have been very mortifying to the friends of this great war minister and leader of coalitions, to hear him confess, 'that we could not expect an enemy so powerful as France had rendered herself, to resign every thing which contributed to superiority, and voluntarily fall to that level which Britain could not enforce with all her exertions.' Accordingly, Mr. Windham, while he declared his intire disapprobation of the treaty, professed himself 'to be a solitary mourner in the midst of public rejoicings : ' even Sheridan could not agree that the conditions were glorious and honorable. 'It was,' in his opinion, 'a peace of which every one was glad, but no one proud.' Fox however declared, 'that as he had, during every year of hostilities, persisted in opposing them, no one could expect him to declaim against the peace, unless its terms had been much more disadvantageous than they really were : he exulted in the opportunity of speaking and voting on a treaty, to which, if the term honorable had been applied, he should not have disputed its applicability : that it was glorious, he would not indeed maintain ; for no peace could deserve to be so called, unless it had been preceded by a glorious war.' After commenting on our cessions and acquisitions, he observed, that a better peace might have been procured many years before ; but as that opportunity had been lost, he would not repine at the present treaty : the state of the continent had been justly called unsatisfactory ; but our safety, he thought, was now equal to what it would have been, if our coalitions had restored the house of Bourbon ; a house noted for its ingratitude ; *whose success would be followed by an alliance of all the sovereigns of Europe against every people which might be oppressed by any one of them* : to him it was a recommendation of the peace, that the zealous promoters of the war had failed in that great object of their wishes.

When the preliminary articles were discussed on occasion of the address in the house of peers, they were reprobated by the Grenville party, as more disgraceful and injurious to our real interests than a prolongation of the war could have been ; but they were defended by the lord chancellor, the duke of Bedford, the earls Moira, Westmorland, and St. Vincent, as well as by lord Nelson. On a division, the address was carried by a majority of one hundred and fourteen against ten.

During these negociations, Buonaparte had been sedulously employed in reorganising the government of France, and prose-

cuting plans for his ultimate assumption of despotic power. On Christmas eve, 1800, the explosion of what was termed the infernal machine, took place; and Napoleon, though it was a plot of the royalists, seized on that opportunity of banishing a very considerable number of jacobins from France: but his grand scheme to support the machinery necessary for holding together and moving the body politic, was the re-establishment of the catholic religion: for this purpose he had spared the pope; and in September, 1801, was ratified a *concordat*, or agreement with the sovereign pontiff, which gave new and essential immunities to the Gallican church, and left the nomination of prelates to the head of the French government.

In the British parliament, soon after its Christmas recess, the chancellor of the exchequer called the attention of the house to the civil list; and, on the report of a committee of inquiry, it appeared, notwithstanding all promises, to be again deeply in arrear; a debt of no less than £990,000 having been contracted since the time of Mr. Burke's celebrated reform bill. During the long and animated discussion to which this affair gave rise, lord Holland in one house, and Mr. Fox in the other, expressed their opinion, that a portion of the civil list ought to be set aside for a sinking fund to pay the king's debts; as in the case of the prince of Wales. One novel head of expenditure, under the title of 'occasional payments,' which was considered a clumsy disguise for 'corrupt influence,' excited very severe animadversion: but the whole sum was voted by the house; though the minister allowed that measures ought to be taken for preventing any such accumulation in future: it was, at the same time, wished by many persons of all parties, that the heir apparent should be enabled, through the liberality of parliament, to resume the establishment that was suitable to his birth and dignity. In order to give a spring to this question, a motion was made by Mr. Manners Sutton, solicitor-general to his royal highness, for a committee to inquire into the arrears due to the prince of Wales from the duchy of Cornwall, during his minority: Mr. Addington's objection, however, to entertain such a discussion in that house, induced the prince's legal advisers to recommend the presentation of a petition of rights to the lord chancellor, by which a legal decision on his claim might be obtained.¹⁷ In this stage, the business

¹⁷ 'The duchy of Cornwall,' says Mr. Nicholls, in his *Recollections*, 'was the prince's property from the hour of his birth: when he came of age, he was put into possession of its revenue;

was cut short by the minister, who, on the fifteenth of February, delivered a message from his majesty, recommending the house of commons to take the affairs of his royal highness into consideration. Accordingly, it was proposed that the prince should have £125,000 a year, beside the revenue of the duchy; and this, without disturbing the plan of 1795 for the payment of his debts, of which, it was stated, £563,895 had been discharged up to the fifth of January this year; while the portion still unpaid amounted to £235,754. The prince intimated his acquiescence in the determination of the house; observing, that with respect to the duchy of Cornwall, he had resolved, from a sense of duty to his father, to forego his claim, rather than prosecute it in a hostile manner: he however added, that till the remaining demands on his honor and justice were satisfied, he must defer the resumption of his state and dignity.

The part which Mr. Pitt now took in parliament, on public questions, was that of an independent representative of the people, unconnected with any political faction. Ministers however were, on various occasions, indebted to his advice more than to his vote; and an eminent historian has observed, that 'had the premier continued to pay to it that attention which it so richly deserved; had he not formed a false estimate of his own power, influence, and resources; had he not imputed to positive desert that strength which arose from a combination of fortuitous circumstances; his political career might have been greatly protracted, and Mr. Pitt's last days might have

but he obtained no part of that revenue which had accrued during his minority. A different treatment was shown to the duke of York: when he came of age, the whole revenue recovered from the bishopric of Osnaburg during his minority, was paid over to him. The king also procured an act of parliament, authorising him to grant leases of the prince's lands in Cornwall, for ninety-nine years, determinable on lives: for these leases the king received, during the prince's minority, to the amount, I believe, of £250,000. Parliament had no right to grant this power: it was a gross breach of faith in the body which is the guardian of the prince's estates, as much as it is of the demesnes of the crown. I am aware that the prince brought a suit against the king, by petition, and in 1803 received £220,000 for compromising his claims; a sum shamefully inadequate; but how different would have been his situation, if he had received even this sum when he came of age, instead of receiving it in 1803!' A tolerably strong argument, all this, for the necessity of a reform in parliament!

been passed remote from the turmoils of office and the bustle of a court.' ¹⁸

The chancellor of the exchequer gave early notice of his intention to repeal the tax on income, acknowledging its grievous burden; and confessing that, as a war-tax, it ought to cease with the occasion which had given it birth. On the fifth of April he brought forward his plan of finance; and as the income-tax had been mortgaged by his predecessor for the sum of £56,445,000, three per cents, he was obliged to make provision for this deficiency: by the imposition therefore of additional duties on beer, malt, and hops, together with an increase in the assessed taxes, and a tax on exports and imports, he reckoned on raising the sum of £4,000,000; which would also compensate for a deficiency in some of the taxes imposed during the war.

As many persons, with Mr. Windham at their head, regarded the present peace only as a hollow truce, and alleged that it would be very dangerous to disarm in the face of an ambitious upstart, whose element seemed to be a state of war; and as this party imputed to the present administration such imbecility as rendered them unfit to conduct the affairs of government, the minister did not disregard their suggestions; but proposed that a much larger force should be retained during the remainder of the year, than had usually been allowed in time of peace: 95,000 soldiers therefore for Great Britain, Ireland, and the colonies, with 75,000 seamen and marines, were not thought too many under existing circumstances. These high demands and other exigences swelled the supplies beyond £40,000,000, exclusive of the interest of the national debt; and among the means of procuring that sum, a loan of £23,000,000 was deemed necessary: but as the unparalleled augmentation of the debt excited strong doubts respecting its ultimate repayment, the minister endeavored to allay, if he could not wholly remove, public apprehension, by holding out strong hopes, delusive enough as the event has proved, of its extinction within forty-three years: for this purpose some alterations were made in Mr. Pitt's bills respecting the sinking fund. The last, or new fund, for liquidating the debt contracted since 1786, had become much larger than the original one for the redemption of the old debt: the present minister proposed to consolidate and perpetuate both, till the

¹⁸ Gifford's Life of Pitt.

whole debt, old and new, should be redeemed : this, including the loan for the present year, amounted to about £540,000,000, the annual interest of which demanded more than £17,000,000.

Sir John Mitford, speaker of the commons, having vacated his chair, by accepting the office of lord chancellor of Ireland, Charles Abbot, Esq., an eminent barrister, and very intimately acquainted with the forms of the house, was chosen to succeed him. Many were the attacks made by Mr. Whitbread, Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Nicholls, and others, on the character and administration of the late minister, who was strenuously and successfully defended by his friends : a motion, proposed by Sir Harry Mildmay, for a vote of express thanks to Mr. Pitt, was carried in the commons by 211 votes against 52 ; and Sir Robert Peel strongly expressed his opinion that the house ought to bestow on the ex-minister some more solid mark of approbation than a vote of thanks. There can be no doubt, but that if Mr. Pitt had been so inclined, he might have put his hand deep into the national purse by means of his satellites ; but the mind of that statesman was differently constituted, and soared far above all sordid considerations of gain. Mr. Pitt was more gratified by a festival, which was held on the twenty-eighth of May, at Merchant Tailors'-hall, in commemoration of his birth ; and which was attended by an immense concourse of personages eminent in rank, station, and talent.

On the thirteenth of May, came on the grand debate relative to the definitive treaty of peace, when it was attacked and defended with more than ordinary zeal and ability. Its opponents in the upper house were headed by lord Grenville, who made the cession of Malta the principal point of his attack ; ridiculing the absurdity of placing that island under the guarantee of six powers, who could not be expected to agree on any one point relating to it ; and, as to restoring it to the knights of St. John, that was still more absurd ; for how could such an order be said to exist, when almost all their funds had been confiscated ? enough was not left to repair the fortifications or maintain the security of the island, which would necessarily come under the influence, and into the pay of France. In adverting to other parts of the treaty, he observed, that our sovereignty in India had not been recognised ; while the Cape of Good Hope, a station most important to the maintenance of that sovereignty, had been given up ; and, in the Mediterranean, we had sacrificed, not only Malta, but Minorca, and even the little isle of Elba, which France desired, purposely to exclude us from the port of Leghorn : he

concluded a severe investigation of this treaty, by moving an address to his majesty, acknowledging his royal prerogative to make peace and war; but declaring that the house could not view, without alarm, the conclusion of the present treaty, for which sacrifices had been made by this country without any corresponding concessions on the part of France; that in the moment of peace that country had exhibited proofs of the most dangerous ambition; that these considerations imposed on government the necessity of adopting precautionary measures; and that while the house relied on his majesty's wisdom to be watchful of the power of France, they assured him of a ready and firm support in resisting any encroachment on British rights. The treaty was also censured by the duke of Rutland, earl Darnley, and lord Carnarvon: it was defended by lords Auckland, Pelham, and Hobart, the lord chancellor, the earls of Westmorland, Rosslyn, and Mulgrave; and lord Grenville's motion was negatived.

In the lower house, the definitive treaty was attacked in all its parts by Mr. Windham, who moved an address similar to that of lord Grenville, but in language breathing a spirit of still higher dissatisfaction. 'It is impossible,' he said, 'to have seen, without the utmost anxiety and alarm, the unexampled circumstances that have attended the final conclusion of the present peace; the extensive and important sacrifices, which, without any corresponding concession, this treaty has added to those already made by the preliminary articles; the unlooked-for and immense accession of territory, influence, and power which it has tacitly confirmed to France; the numerous subjects of clashing interest and unavoidable dispute which it has left intirely unadjusted; and, above all, those continued and systematic projects of aggrandisement, of which, in the very moment of peace, we have seen, unhappily, such undeniable and convincing evidence.' The proposition of Mr. Windham was, of course, negatived; but it disclosed to the administration the grounds of a very formidable opposition.

The cession of Trinidad to England, and the plan of its more general cultivation by negro slaves, alarmed the friends of the abolition of slavery; and, early in the session, Mr. Canning moved the house on this subject. His first was a preliminary motion, relating to the cultivation of the land in that island, which would require, on the old system, an immense increase of its slave population, strongly militating against the ultimate abolition of the traffic, which was the purport of an address to the throne in 1797. In the course of his speech, Mr. Canning observed, that, although he did not mean

then to discuss the question of the slave-trade, he would just remark, 'that, as often as it had been discussed, he had never heard any one attempt to maintain the position, that if the trade did not now exist, it ought to be instituted.' This brought on his legs the magnanimous member for Liverpool, general Gascoigne, who had the hardihood to maintain, in the face of the world, 'that if the slave-trade never had existed; yet, in consideration of its beneficial consequences to this country, it ought now to be commenced.'

Mr. Canning's second motion on the same subject was introduced by a speech, remarkable as indicating to ministers his dissatisfaction with their general policy, and as disclosing large and liberal views, equally founded on justice and humanity. 'In considering the acquisition of Trinidad,' he observed, 'it seems as if Providence had determined to submit to the trial our boasts of speculative benevolence and intended humanity, by placing in our power a colony, where, if we pursue our old course, it must be purely for its own sake, without the old inducements or the usual apologies. This is a day of tests: I trust we shall all abide the trial.' The motion, however, was lost by the previous question being carried.

An important act was passed this session for consolidating the existing militia laws, and for augmenting that species of force. The sum of £10,500 was voted to Dr. Jenner, for the promulgation of his valuable discovery of vaccine inoculation, by which it was hoped the small-pox would ultimately be extirpated: a reward of £1200 was also given to Mr. Henry Greathead, for his invention of the life-boat; and £5000 to Dr. Carmichael Smith, for a discovery of the nitrous fumigation for preventing the progress of infectious disorders. On the twenty-ninth of June, parliament was dissolved by proclamation.

The French government, having determined on attempting to recover St. Domingo and Guadaloupe from the revolted negroes, had sent a strong military and naval force for that purpose, under general le Clerc, which put to sea on the fourteenth of December last year. Admiral Mitchell, who was then stationed at Bantry-bay with seven sail of the line, was ordered to follow and observe their motions: but when it was known whither they were destined, a mutiny broke out in several of the vessels; which, however, was soon suppressed, and the squadron proceeded to the West Indies to reinforce the protecting fleets on that station.

England had strong reason for displeasure, when she saw the

interference and intrigues of the first consul in various parts of Europe. In March, a treaty was signed with the Cisalpine republic, of which Napoleon was appointed president, preparatory to his assuming the iron crown in imitation of Charlemagne; and he not only procured the cession of Louisiana, but the duchy of Parma also, from Spain. Disputes having arisen respecting the formation of a new constitution in Switzerland, and the mediation of Napoleon being solicited, the diet was dissolved by the approach of his troops; the Swiss patriots were arrested; and the independence of the country was annihilated by the very power on which it relied for protection. In September, Piedmont was turned into a provincial appendage to France; and in October, the king of Spain annexed to the royal domains all the property of the Maltese knights in his dominions, declaring himself grand master of the order in Spain. Little doubt was entertained but that this step was taken at the suggestion of the French government; and thus the treaty of Amiens was, to a certain degree, vitiated. The court of Rome, which, since the *concordat*, had become devoted to the first consul, gave under all circumstances an example of submission to his wishes: it was the first to recognise the erection of Tuscany into the kingdom of Etruria; and the formation of the Helvetic, Cisalpine, and Batavian republics: Prussia soon followed; and she was imitated by the other continental powers.

To confirm his authority at home, Napoleon caused a proposal to be made in the conservative senate, for prolonging his consulate during life; and the measure being referred to the people, was carried by a vast majority: it was also decided, that he should have the power of nominating his successor. Imposing a new constitution on France, he invested himself with the right of making war or peace, ratifying treaties, granting pardons, nominating public officers, appointing 40 out of the 120 members composing the senate, and prescribing to that assembly the subjects of its deliberation: little doubt could have existed even then of his ultimate intention, when he took away all responsibility from his ministers, and transferred it to himself: in order to make this clear to the public, all the acts of his government were signed only by M. Maret, secretary of state: every department indeed was dependent on his will; the whole being overawed by his army, and controlled by his police. Aware that to the former he was indebted for his elevation, he now instituted the grand military order intitled the legion of honor; to be composed of fifteen cohorts,

and a council of administration; each cohort to consist of seven grand officers, twenty commandants, thirty subordinate officers, and 350 legionaries; the first consul always to be the chief, and the members to be appointed for life, with appropriate salaries. This institution was highly gratifying to a vain nation like that which Napoleon now ruled. Nor did the first consul spare any exertion to render his capital attractive: the statue of the Venus de' Medici, which had been taken from the grand duke of Florence, was now added to the decorations of the Louvre; his parties at the Tuilleries were numerous and brilliant, as also were the reviews of his superb troops: an immense number of foreigners flocked to Paris; the theatres were crowded, and the fêtes were magnificent; every where an air of prosperity was visible; and Buonaparte proudly claimed to be regarded as its author.

In the West Indies the French recovered Guadaloupe, after a sanguinary resistance; and were at first successful in St. Domingo, Toussaint L'Ouverture having submitted under promise of pardon: scarcely however had he signed the capitulation, when he was seized on a vague charge of conspiracy, conveyed to France, and cruelly immured in prison, where he soon afterwards expired: but the negro generals, Dessalines and Christophe, who had also surrendered, justly fearing a similar fate, saved themselves by flight: the insurgents again rose up in arms; the climate aided their efforts; and Le Clerc fell a victim to its malignity. General Rochambeau succeeded to the command; the conflict recommenced with increased fury; and the natives recovered possession of the whole island, except of a few maritime towns, which were with difficulty maintained. The success of St. Domingo had infused a spirit of resistance generally among the oppressed people of the colonies; so that insurrections broke out both at Tobago and Dominica, the latter of which at one time assumed a serious aspect. As the conspiracy originated in a regularly trained black regiment, this circumstance augmented that aversion to arming the negroes, which already prevailed in the islands.

In the elections for the new parliament popular excitement prevailed to a very considerable extent: the corresponding societies had generated a spirit of dissatisfaction which reached the manufacturing towns, where many atrocities took place, and revolutionary principles were openly promulgated. At the election for Westminster, popular fury was carried to a great height; when Mr. Fox and admiral Gardner were re-

turned after a severe contest. The rage of party however particularly distinguished itself in Middlesex, where Sir Francis Burdett opposed Mr. Mainwaring, and was received with vehement acclamations by the mob, whose imaginations were exalted with the idea of their own sovereignty. In consequence of the non-arrival of the French ambassador, people began to doubt the permanency of peace: it was not till the thirtieth of April that lord Whitworth obtained his final audience, and departed for Paris. General Andreossy was appointed by Buonaparte to the British embassy; but did not arrive till the tenth of November following: even his presence did not dissipate the forebodings of the public mind, which were increased by the intelligence that Buonaparte had interdicted all English newspapers. The plausible reason assigned for this was, lest the skirmishing between journalists should create disunion, and lead to a rupture of the peace: the true one lay behind; lest the real character of Napoleon's projects should be made known to the world.¹⁹

During the present interval of peace a considerable change took place in the relative positions and bearings of parties toward each other in England. As it has already been observed, Mr. Pitt lent his sanction to the present government; while several of those who had made common cause in resigning with him, strenuously opposed it: but although ministers were thwarted by many of their former adherents, they were not only in high favor with the king, but were supported by some whig members, whose opposition had previously been most violent: among these was Mr. Sheridan, whose biographer labors to convince his readers that this change of sentiment arose from the patriotic desire of excluding Mr. Pitt from power, by strengthening the hands of those that were in possession.²⁰ The truth however seems to lie much nearer to the surface, in the needy circumstances of that dissolute character, who had been long debarred from the public exchequer; and now, seeing an avenue open to it, not only gave to the present ministers 'the aid of his own name and eloquence, but endeavored to impress the same views on Mr. Fox, and exerted his influence to procure the sanction of Carlton-house in their favor.'

¹⁹ 'Publicity,' says Bourrienne, 'either by words or writing, was Buonaparte's horror: hence his aversion to public speakers and writers.'

²⁰ Moore's Life of Sheridan, vol. ii. p. 311.

With such dispositions parliament assembled on the sixteenth of November; when his majesty, in adverting to the extraordinary situation of continental affairs, noticed the irregular advances made by France in power and influence. Such a change did not agree with the spirit of the late treaty; and Great Britain could not view it with apathy: as these encroachments threatened the general interests of Europe, a vigilant observance of them was necessary; and it seemed highly expedient that this country should be prepared to meet every contingency. Lord Arden, who moved the responsive address in the house of peers, increased the general opinion that dissension was spreading widely between the two governments: he thought that the house could not but approve his majesty's resolution to direct the observation of government to the great changes among the continental powers; nor did he suppose that the supplies, which vigilant preparations required, would be refused. Lord Nelson, who seconded him, also approved of the resolution of government to maintain the dignity of the nation, without losing sight of the advantages of peace: he deplored war, as the bane of commercial and social intercourse; but nations must continue to support their honor, as a necessary part of their establishment. War, he thought, had not impaired our resources; and we ought not to fall into dishonor for the value of any sacrifices: he apprehended war, and there were just grounds for it; since the ink was scarcely dry with which the treaty of Amiens was signed, when France began, in utter violation of it, to add territory to territory. All the ambition of France was not noticed by England as it ought: war had long assumed in that country a preparative front; and no one could suppose that it would stop short at the command of the first consul, whose interest it was to encourage it, and to bring Great Britain into a condition similar to that of Switzerland, Piedmont, and other states. The address was carried without a division: that in the house of commons was proposed by colonel Trench, and seconded by the honorable Mr. Curzon; both of whom agreed, that ministers would duly regard the welfare of the country, and not permit its character to be injured by tamely submitting to the encroachments of France.

Mr. Canning and Mr. Windham, though they did not absolutely recommend immediate war, strongly urged the necessity of counteracting the schemes of Buonaparte's insatiate ambition: Mr. Fox however hoped that ministers would not be influenced by the intemperate zeal of such politicians, to

rush into a new war without urgent necessity. As Mr. Windham, in the warmth of feeling which the subject excited, had affirmed that the country was 'rapidly rolling on from ruin to ruin,' the first lord of the treasury repelled the offensive remark by an appeal to the high rank which Great Britain held among the nations of the world; the respectable force which she continued to maintain; the magnitude of her resources; the increase of her revenue; and the flourishing state of her arts and manufactures. He condemned that rage for war, which seemed to spread among those who wished to be considered as the only true friends of their country; and he could not believe that dreadful havoc and multiplied calamities were necessary to maintain the dignity of human nature. As war was a certain evil, peace was a certain good; though he confessed that it might be impolitic to purchase even this blessing by a sacrifice of national honor: he thought it his duty to be prepared for every contingency; and while he deprecated the melancholy recurrence of war, he would not invite it by inglorious timidity. The address was finally carried without a division.

The state of the country, in point of defensive preparation, was warmly debated, when the supplies for another year were demanded. The proposal of 50,000 seamen, though it had been previously hinted that 30,000 would be sufficient, was considered by the war party as a proof of the alarm which had been recently excited in the cabinet: an augmentation also of the military force was deemed requisite; 128,000 men being voted in that department. During the debates on this subject, Mr. Sheridan delivered one of his most brilliant speeches: though sufficiently severe on the Pitt administration, he declared that the time had come, when it was absolutely necessary for this country to adopt vigorous measures of defence. After a humorous description of the discord which prevailed in the cabinet during the negotiations at Lille, when ministers acted, not merely like men in a boat, rowing different ways, but like men in the boat of a balloon, the honorable gentleman concluded his speech in the following burst of glowing eloquence:—

'On this subject I have dwelt more particularly, because I wish Buonaparte not to mistake the cause of the people's joy: he should know, that if he commits any act of aggression against them, they are ready to enter singly into the contest, rather than suffer any attack on their honor and independence. I shall proceed no farther: I perfectly agree with my honor-

able friend,¹ that war ought to be avoided ; though he does not agree with me on the means best calculated to produce that effect. From any opinion which he may express, I never differ but with the greatest reluctance : for him my affection, my esteem, and my attachment are unbounded ; and they will end only with my life : but I think an important lesson is to be learned from the arrogance of Buonaparte. He says he is an instrument in the hands of Providence ; an envoy of God : he says he is an instrument in the hands of Providence, to restore Switzerland to happiness, and to elevate Italy to splendor and importance. Sir, I think he is an instrument in the hands of Providence, to make the English love their constitution better ; to cling to it with more fondness ; to hang round it with truer tenderness. Every man feels, when he returns from France, that he is coming from a dungeon, to enjoy the light and life of British independence : whatever abuses exist, we shall look with pride and pleasure on the substantial blessings we still enjoy. I believe also that he is an instrument in the hands of Providence, to make us more liberal in our political differences, and to render us determined, with one hand and heart, to oppose any aggression that may be made on us : if that aggression be made, my honorable friend will, I am sure, agree with me, that we ought to meet it with a spirit worthy of these islands ; that we ought to meet it with a conviction of the truth of this assertion,—that the country, which has achieved such greatness, has no retreat in littleness ; that, if we should be content to abandon every thing, we should find no safety in poverty—no security in abject submission ; finally, that we ought to meet it with a firm determination to perish in the same grave with the honor and independence of our country.’

Mr. Canning, while he applauded the patriotism of the last speaker, entered into a long and labored defence of Mr. Pitt ; declaring, ‘ without disguise or reservation, that he thought this a time when the administration of government ought to be in the ablest and fittest hands : those in which it was then placed did not, in his opinion, answer to that description ; nor did he pretend to conceal in what quarter that fitness most eminently resided.’ With regard, however, to insinuations thrown out respecting Mr. Pitt’s guidance of the present cabinet, it was not for him to speak ; but a distinct and peremptory disavowal was required ; and he trusted that his majesty’s minis-

¹ Mr. Fox.

ters would not suffer the night to pass over without disclaiming unequivocally any secret influence, which he was sure had been, without any grounds, alleged : he gave his vote in favor of the increased force, as he did on occasion of voting an additional number of seamen ; though he arraigned, in no measured terms, the imbecility of the administration. Mr. Fox was satisfied with a small military establishment ; because a large standing army was not necessary to protect the country against invasion, the danger of which might be met by a respectable naval force ; and he advised ministers to attend more to the means of allaying disorders in Ireland, and of reducing the national debt, than to the affairs of the continent.

As the advocates for war acquired greater influence over ministers, objects of complaint were studiously brought forward ; so that disputes between the two governments soon became warm and acrimonious : the English cabinet declared that one nation could not safely adhere to the letter of the treaty, if the other violated its spirit and substance ; while the official partisans of Buonaparte, denying our right of interference in his political arrangements, exacted a strict observance of all our stipulations. The first remonstrance made against the unjustifiable encroachments of the first consul, related to his conduct towards the Swiss ; and his Britannic majesty endeavored at the same time to ascertain the sentiments of the courts of Austria and Russia on this point ; but he found, to his great regret, that neither of them manifested any disposition to counteract the violence and injustice that was committed : equally fruitless were his expostulations with reference to usurpations in Holland and Italy. It was also alleged that numerous persons were sent to reside in our maritime towns, under the pretence of trade, but really with a view to procure such intelligence as might be useful to the French government in the event of a war ; and while this scheme was put in practice, the restrictions on British commerce in France were enforced with extraordinary rigor. Insults, which deserved only contempt, were also turned into subjects of complaint ; like the vaunting declaration, that Great Britain could not contend alone with France : nor did the negotiations of general Sebastiani with the Ottoman Porte, and his survey of the Levant, escape strong animadversion. On the other hand, Napoleon was exasperated by the freedom of British journals, through which the most bitter truths were conveyed to his irritable mind ; nor could he make any distinction between the government and the press : he also complained of the pro-

tection given to discontented emigrants ; but chiefly he reprobated the retention of Malta. ' My pretended encroachments,' he said, ' are mere trifles ; and even if they were highly important, you have no concern with them : but in refusing to surrender Malta, you are openly violating the treaty of Amiens, which I will not tamely suffer to be infringed.' At the very time, however, when he was making bitter complaints against our press, a publisher of the name of Peltier, who conducted a journal in the French language, called *L'Ambigu*, was sent before a jury for a libel against him ; and the pure stream of British justice itself was in some degree polluted, in order to ensure his conviction :² another demand, however, that the Bourbons and their partisans should be expelled from England, met with a firm and generous denial. In the mean time, Napoleon ordered his political agents throughout Europe to circulate the most outrageous libels against the highest characters of Great Britain ; and, while he complained of our retention of Malta, he was wholly silent, not only on the change that had taken place in the political relations of those powers which had guarantied its independence, but on his own intentions of dismembering the Turkish empire, monopolising the commerce of the Levant, and ultimately striking a blow at our Indian possessions. The British ministers, indeed, were to blame for carrying conciliation to a greater length than was compatible with national dignity ; since it was easy to perceive that such a system would have no other effect on the arrogant mind of Napoleon, than to increase its presumption : chiefly however they were to blame for their imbecile arrangements and acceptation of the treaty of Amiens, which obliged them to collect a number of pretexts, and make up a mass of petty grievances, for want of one large and specific plea. When the first consul demanded why Malta had not been evacuated according to stipulation, the British government replied by a claim to retain that island, because Buonaparte had increased his European territory, and threatened Egypt : the last objection was idle, since no overt act had been committed ; the first was not in the bond. Napoleon, whose very elevation was on the basis of national glory, could not yield

² The lord chief justice, in his address to a special jury, chiefly composed of mercantile men, observed, ' I trust your verdict will strengthen the relations by which the interests of this country are connected with France.' The renewal of hostilities alone secured the convicted defendant from punishment.

Malta ; and to demand it of him, was, in fact, to declare war : his ready answer was, that England should have the benefit of the treaty of Amiens, and no more : to this England could not submit, but at the risk of her independence ; and here both her ministry and Pitt were right, however blundering the former had proved in those negociations, which threw on their country the odium of offending against the letter of treaties, while the spirit of them was in her favor.

In February, this year, a trial took place under a special commission, in consequence of a treasonable conspiracy discovered in the preceding November, for dethroning the king, and compassing his death : it originated with colonel Despard, an officer of courage and ability ; who, having been reduced in circumstances on account of the abolition of an office which he held on the coast of Honduras, had organised a society in London for the subversion of that tyranny which he attributed to the ministers of his sovereign. In the scheme which was imparted to his confederates, the proposed objects were, the constitutional independence of Great Britain and Ireland ; an equalisation and extension of rights ; a liberal reward to all who would exert themselves in the cause of the people, and ample provision for the families of those who might fall. The colonel, with twenty-nine laboring men and soldiers, was apprehended at the Oakley Arms in Lambeth, while deliberating on the execution of their criminal design. After a trial which lasted eighteen hours, he was found guilty ; but though very honorable testimony was given to his services by lord Nelson, Sir Alured Clarke, and others, it was thought dangerous in those peculiar times to pardon so heinous a crime. Nine of his unhappy associates were also convicted ; six of whom, together with their leader, were executed on the twenty-first of February, with the usual forms accompanying cases of high treason.

On the twenty-third of the same month, parliament was opened by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty observed, that in his intercourse with foreign powers he had been actuated by a sincere desire for the maintenance of peace ; though he could not lose sight of that wise and established system of policy, by which the interests of other states are connected with our own ; nor could he be indifferent to any material changes in their relative condition and strength : he also expressed his conviction that parliament would concur in adopting such means of security, as were best calculated to preserve the blessings of peace. The presage thus intimated was soon

afterwards confirmed by a proposal to augment the naval and military force of the country. On the eighth of March, a message from the king to both houses, represented the preparations made in the French and Dutch ports as grounds for defensive arrangements; when lord Hobart moved a responsive address in the lords, in which, though he admitted that such preparations might be intended for the security of distant possessions, he argued, that the existence of discussions, which did not altogether promise a favorable termination, justified immediate and strong precautions: this proposition received the intire approbation of earl Spencer; while lord Moira, though he hoped that hostilities might be prevented by our assumption of a formidable attitude, advised, if they should unfortunately occur, that a large army should be assembled between the metropolis and the coast to dispel the danger of invasion. In the house of commons, many members, among whom were some zealous advocates of war, expressed a desire of farther information, before the ministerial recommendations were attended to: Mr. Fox, in particular, wished to know the precise reasons for putting the nation into a warlike attitude: he still thought war might be avoided; and that statesman, who, in 1786, proclaimed the natural enmity of England and France as an argument against their commercial intercourse, now asked, 'whether France was for ever to be considered as our rival?' In compliance however with ministerial demands, 10,000 seamen were added to the existing number; and the king was authorised to embody the militia, as if an invasion were impending over the country: in the mean time, the discussions were continued; but as Napoleon declared that harmony could not be restored unless Malta were surrendered either to the knights, or to some continental power; and as he also refused to give any security that his territorial encroachments should cease;—it became daily more evident that peace could not be long preserved.

The visible necessity of infusing vigor into the cabinet at this crisis, induced Mr. Addington to apply to Mr. Pitt for official support; and it was intimated that the first place was open to him, with an admission to some of his principal friends: the desired coalition however is generally supposed to have failed on account of a demand made by Mr. Pitt of introducing lord Spencer, lord Grenville, and some other statesmen, who had exhibited a marked hostility to Mr. Addington's administration: the minister therefore resolved to brave the storm, and to

pursue his course, with such strength as he could then command.

Meanwhile, the negotiations with France daily assumed a more hostile character; Buonaparte declaring that he would as soon see the English in possession of one of the suburbs of Paris, as of Malta. The Russian emperor offered his mediation between the discordant governments; but as he proposed no scheme of accommodation, the offer was politely evaded; and at length the following terms of an amicable arrangement were suggested by lord Whitworth to the first consul. If a cession, it was said, of Lampedosa could be procured from the king of Naples, it might serve as a naval station for the English in lieu of Malta, which should then be left to the natives on the basis of independence: it was expected however that Holland should be evacuated by the French troops, while Switzerland was relieved from the same encumbrance. His Britannic majesty would recognise the Spanish prince who had been made king of Etruria, as well as the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics; in return for which France was required to indemnify the king of Sardinia by the cession of some valuable territory: a secret article also proposed that Malta should remain for ten years under British government before the exchange took place.

This scheme was called an *ultimatum*, and a week's interval only allowed for a reply. The mode of adjustment, as might be supposed, was not very palatable to the French ruler; but he was unwilling to begin the contest so soon, inevitable as he knew it to be; and in this he was encouraged by Talleyrand, who is said to have foreseen the pernicious consequences even of fresh victories. Napoleon therefore expressed a wish for the continuance of discussion; but England was now peremptory, after having been tricked and annoyed in a thousand ways: the ambassador, conscious that he was resisting usurpation, and an indefinite system of encroachment, resolved, in compliance with his instructions, to decline all farther negotiation; and having made preparations for his departure from Paris, quitted that capital on the twelfth of May. Orders were immediately issued for seizing the ships of France and of the states subject to her power, in the British ports; and this measure, which was conceived too much in that spirit of usurpation which we were so ready to blame in our antagonist, drew down a severe retaliation; for the first consul immediately detained all British subjects who incautiously remained in

the French territories after the departure of the ambassador. Thus recommenced betwixt the two nations a quarrel unrivalled in the history of the world for the inveteracy of its spirit and the variety of its fortunes.

On the sixteenth of May, the king of Great Britain sent a message to the two houses, announcing war with France; and on the eighteenth, a declaration from his majesty was laid before them, explaining the line of conduct which he had thought proper to pursue, and the reasons of it: accordingly, on the twenty-third, the subject was taken into deliberation; when the galleries, and the very avenues, were crowded to excess. In the peers, the discussion was opened by lord Pelham, who wished that the only subject of consideration should be, whether, from a perusal of all the papers laid on the table, a just and legitimate ground of war had not been established. Having given an outline of the conduct of the two governments since the treaty of Amiens, in which he stated all the aggressions of France, and justified the conduct of ministers on the several points in which they had been attacked; his lordship concluded by moving an address to the king, expressing the sense entertained by the house of that anxious desire which his majesty had shown for the preservation of peace; their regret that France had not manifested similar principles; their indignation at the spirit of encroachment exhibited by that power; and the reliance which his majesty might place on their assistance. To detail the various speeches made on this occasion, would only be to repeat arguments already known to the reader: it may be sufficient to remark, that the dukes of Clarence and Cumberland strongly supported the address: the former considered the question nothing less, than whether this country should retain its independence, or descend from its high rank, and join those vanquished and enfeebled nations, which had been plundered, insulted, and degraded by France: the latter went over the history of the war, tracing the anxiety and clamor for peace to the failure of so many of our expeditions: it was from perceiving the wishes of the people so strongly setting toward peace, that he gave his consent to the preliminary articles: at that time it was considered a primary object to guaranty the independence of Malta; but the changes made in the Order, as well as in the relative situation of France and other states, now rendered it imperative on us to retain it; at least, until that independence could be perfectly secured. Lord Mulgrave thought that the restoration of this island to the Order would only be a transfer

of it to France, by which power it would be kept as a key to Egypt: on this point, indeed, most of the arguments turned; showing clearly the blunders of British diplomacy, which left this bone of contention between the two parties; enabling the French, though in reality the aggressors, to keep the letter of the treaty; while the English were obliged to break it in self-defence.

Lord Stanhope felt so strongly the situation in which England had placed herself, that he considered her bound to give up the island; while lord Melville declared, that war ought to be commenced in order to retain it. The dukes of Norfolk and Richmond, as well as the marquis of Lansdowne, were anxious for peace: the first of these noblemen wished for the mediation of Russia; the second did not think ministers would be justified in commencing war, and increasing the national expenditure, on account of Malta; while the last recommended a spirit of pacification in lieu of warlike preparations; and did not think the aggressions of France, as they respected Austria and Switzerland, sufficient pretexts for war. Lord King, after expressing his regret that the country was on the eve of war, and asking what she could expect from the conflict, moved, as an amendment to the address, that 'those expressions should be altered, which so warmly imputed to France the guilt of breaking treaties:' this was opposed by lord Ellenborough, who considered war a security for our liberty and commerce. Lord Moira, regarding it as a great calamity to the majority of the people, recommended the house to be cautious: still he could not bear the insults and arrogance of France: her possessions even now were enormous; yet she coveted more: while her ruler aimed at the character of Cæsar or Alexander, it was high time to present a bar to his progress; which no country could do but England: this nation had never been engaged in a war more just than that which was now apprehended; it had already learned much from its enemy, and was conscious that energy, as well as foresight, were necessary to cope with, and subdue him: earls Spencer and Rosslyn, the marquis of Sligo, and lord Grenville, coincided in these views; and the house having divided on lord King's amendment, there were found only ten votes in its favor, and against it 142.

In the house of commons, the debate was carried on with uncommon animation for two days; but so eager was public curiosity, that the strangers' gallery was filled at an early hour, by persons admitted in an unusual manner, to the exclusion of

the reporters. After some spirited observations from Mr. Erskine, Mr. Pitt rose to defend the approaching contest, of the nature and merits of which he took a luminous view; contending, that through the aggressions of France, the renewal of hostilities became as much an act of necessity as the original war in 1793: he then expressed his conviction, that some system, far more vigorous than any which had been hitherto adopted, would be found requisite, both in our finances and our preparations for national defence: if our enemies expected success, their hopes must be founded, either on breaking the spirit of the country by the perpetual apprehension of a descent on our coasts; or on impairing its resources, and undermining its credit, by the effects of an expensive and protracted contest: to defeat the first of these purposes, he thought it was not sufficient to make those military and naval preparations which would prevent the success of any particular attempt at invasion; but that such extensive arrangements for national defence should be effected, as might diffuse throughout the country a sense of security: to meet the second object, that of wearing out our resources, he hoped to see established a system of finance, which looked, not only to the expenses which might be necessary in the first year of the contest, but contemplated the possibility of its being protracted during as long a period as that which had lately ceased: he was persuaded, that it could only be by providing, at the outset, means adequate to the whole extent of these purposes, that we could secure the best chances of bringing the contest to a speedy conclusion, or prevent the annual recurrence of accumulated embarrassments, and an expenditure, which might in the end prove intolerable: he trusted, therefore, that ministers would promptly bring both these points under the consideration of the house; so that such measures might speedily be adopted as would convince France that we had within ourselves the means of prosecuting the war as far as it could reasonably be expected to extend: he was aware that these measures could not be effected without extensive personal sacrifices, affecting the convenience, and even the comfort, of many classes in society: he lamented these consequences as much as any man; and if he could see a prospect of obtaining secure and substantial repose by present concession, he would gladly avoid all such painful exertions: but under present circumstances, a weak and timid policy would scarcely delay the moment when those exertions would become indispensable for our existence as a nation; and would infallibly expose us to a struggle at no distant period,

when we should be taken at a great disadvantage. At the present moment, we could hardly be said to have an option: from the fatality of the times, and the general state of Europe, we must consider our lot as cast by the decrees of Providence in a time of peril and trouble: he trusted however that the temper and courage of the people would be found equal to the duties which such a situation imposed on them; and that they would remember, even in the hour of trial, what abundant reason we had to be grateful to Providence for the distinction we enjoyed over most European countries; for the blessings which national wisdom and virtue had hitherto produced; and which it now behoved us to guard and preserve by perseverance in the same just and honorable course.

An amendment was moved by Mr. Grey, who thought that peace should be prized in proportion to the difficulties and distresses of war. Mr. Whitbread wanted unanimity; but asked, 'whether the house could conscientiously vote an address which would involve a direct approbation of the conduct of ministers? Even the right honorable gentleman who spoke before him (Mr. T. Grenville) admitted that they had compromised the honor of their country: he had reviewed their conduct before and after the treaty of Amiens; and they had no right to declare those to be reasons for going to war, which were no reasons for preventing the signature of that treaty:' he concluded by expressing his hopes that ministers would take advantage of Russian mediation to preserve the peace. Mr. Canning, in a long and elaborate speech, supported the address: with regard to the justice and necessity of the approaching contest, he thought that ministers ought sooner to have resented the insults and encroachments of France: the importance of Malta had been shown by the conduct of Napoleon himself regarding it: Russia was the only power that could protect Malta, but she had exhibited no inclination to occupy or guaranty it. Mr. Fox took a review of the whole correspondence; contending that there had been much artifice, contrivance, and evasion on both sides: he did not think the first consul's power colossal; and as to his threat of invasion, he considered it mere boasting: as to his system of aggrandisement, our country had nothing to do with it; but he blamed ministers for tacitly bearing insults, and now going to war on sordid principles: he was alarmed at the unusual preparations that were deemed necessary: an ex-minister had threatened us with an additional load of £200,000,000 or £300,000,000 to be placed on the national debt, merely to retain Malta. As a last

resource to prevent national ruin, he recommended an alliance with Russia: he intirely approved of the amendment, as no one could support the original address without some qualification. The debate was wound up by this speech of Mr. Fox, which occupied three hours in the delivery, and was listened to with profound attention, as a splendid effusion of eloquence; containing many great views and sublime sentiments, though deficient in consistent, comprehensive, and advantageous principles of policy: when the house divided, the address was carried by a majority of 398.

It soon appeared that the administration was ill qualified to guide the helm of state in such tempestuous times; and the nation became convinced, that such a knowlege of parliamentary forms and constitutional points, as may fit a person to discharge the official duties of speaker to the house of commons, is not a sufficient qualification for an able minister of state: the abilities of the premier were again brought under discussion, in consequence of a motion of censure made by colonel Patten, comprising five resolutions: in these, the administration was charged with having deceived the nation, and betrayed its interests, by holding out hopes of continued peace, at the very time when, according to their subsequent declarations, it was known that France was pursuing an unvaried course of aggression, violence, and insult. As a proof of their incapacity and neglect of duty, it was stated, that on the sixteenth of October, 1802, counter-orders were despatched, revoking the orders before given for the surrender of the Cape of Good Hope; and that directions, in consequence of which that valuable settlement was actually evacuated, were issued on the sixteenth of November, when the aggressions of France, as ministers themselves avowed, had been manifested for more than six months; that, in directing the final surrender of the Cape under such circumstances, without any previous arrangement or explanations, they had acted most improvidently, and in contradiction to the sense which they had themselves manifested of their own duty. In considering this question, Mr. Pitt pursued a middle course, which neither pleased the cabinet, nor gratified the war-faction: by voting with the mover, he would have condemned the conduct of an administration, to which he had promised support; and by openly siding with the court, he would have given favorable testimony to those whom he was disposed to censure for not having boldly resisted the encroachments of France immediately after the ratification of the peace. The

parliamentary tact of Mr. Canning on this occasion is not unworthy of notice: he felt himself on this occasion, for the first time in his life, compelled by an overruling sense of duty to differ from his right honorable friend: 'But let it not be imagined,' he said, 'that in following a different course for myself, I presume to insinuate the smallest blame, to hint a doubt of the propriety of that, which, with his view of the subject, he has chosen for himself; and for those who may come, like him, with unpledged opinions to this discussion.' He came with a decisive opinion of ministerial incapacity, and a full conviction of the truth of the charges contained in the resolutions: he asked, 'whether any man could reflect, without indignation, on the delusion which they had so long practised on parliament and the people; or whether any one could recall to mind, without disgust, their canting professions of belief in the continuance of peace and good will between this country and France, uttered in that house almost daily, up to within ten days of the declaration of war?' The proposed resolutions however were rejected by a large majority; and Mr. Addington, who had signified his readiness to submit to the will of the house, was encouraged to retain the power which he held with the king's intire approbation: should the war prove successful, that power would probably be prolonged; if disasters should call for his resignation, he was prepared to retire, like the best and the worst of his predecessors, with ample honors and remuneration for his public services.

Parliament soon began to occupy itself with subjects of finance, and preparations for national defence: when the military estimates were discussed, an addition of 30,000 men was proposed; and when Mr. Windham derided this as insufficient, he was assured by Mr. Yorke, the secretary at war, that a comprehensive and vigorous scheme would soon be submitted to the house. Mr. Pitt, however, not satisfied with this assurance, haughtily demanded from ministers a more specific statement of their views, and a more positive promise of their fulfilment: before any plan was matured, the financial accounts of the year were specified, and supplies demanded to the amount of £33,730,000: the whole, however, granted during the year exceeded £41,000,000. Besides an increase on the customs and excise duties, the income tax was now renewed, though not to its former extent; since it was not to exceed five per cent, and to act on every species of income from £150 upwards: a duty however was imposed on land of one shilling in the pound, to be paid by the landlord, and nine-

pence by the tenant : the nett produce of this tax was estimated at £4,700,000 ; and that of all the war taxes at £12,700,000 annually ; but they were to expire at the end of six months after the return of peace.

An extension of hostility to the Batavian republic was now declared ; though his majesty asserted, that he had no wish to involve unoffending nations in those calamities which the French did not seem inclined to avoid : but to his proposals, that the French troops should be withdrawn from Holland, and its resources confined to its own peculiar occasions, the first consul would not accede ; and war was accordingly denounced against that unfortunate state. The principal feature in the military scheme brought forward by ministers, was that of rendering the militia as effective as possible ; and a bill for that purpose was brought forward on the twentieth of May : but in consequence of a message from the crown, on the eighteenth of June, recommending more extensive measures, a proposition was carried for embodying a new species of militia, to be denominated the 'army of reserve,' consisting of 50,000 men for England, and 10,000 for Ireland, to be raised by ballot, and confined to the defence of the united kingdom, but allowed to volunteer into the regular army : all persons were liable to serve, from the age of eighteen years to that of forty-five, except such as were exempt from the militia ballot, and poor persons having more than one child under the age of ten years. The bill, which received the royal assent on the sixth of July, was but the precursor of a measure gigantic in magnitude, which comprehended the arming and training of the whole effective male population, and which passed into a law on the twenty-seventh of the same month : this general enrolment, called the levy *en masse*, was divided into four distinct classes ; the first embracing all unmarried men between the ages of seventeen and thirty ; the second, all between thirty and fifty ; the third, all married men between seventeen and thirty, not having more than two children under ten years of age ; and the fourth, all under fifty-five, not comprised in the other descriptions : these different classes, who were to be trained to the use of arms in their several parishes, were liable, in case of invasion, to be called out by his majesty, to co-operate with the regular army within the realm, and to remain embodied until the enemy should be subdued or expelled. In recommending the measure, Mr. Yorke expressed a wish of living to see the day, when the use of the musket would form a part of the education of British youth, as that of the

bow did in the time of their ancestors; for this would be the best method to remove all danger of subjection to a foreign yoke. So vexatious a scheme was not generally acceptable to the nation; nor was the danger which ministers seemed to dread so great, as to justify this extraordinary panic: in one of the debates to which it gave rise, Mr. Pitt objected to its compulsory nature; and when a hint was given that the first class of unmarried men might suffice, the remark met with very general approbation.

Preparations were immediately made for the accomplishment of the modified plan, which was greatly facilitated by the incredible number of volunteers who had started up in every part of the realm, exhibiting a force of 400,000 men, ready to defend their native coasts. The French ruler viewed with astonishment this formidable display of national energy; and though his preparations for invasion were continued, the probability of success must have appeared much diminished to his discerning mind. Beside the grand fleet at Brest, supposed to be destined for the Irish coast, an immense flotilla of transports and gun-boats had been built with uncommon expedition in the French ports; and it was hoped, that a sufficient number of these vessels, protected by ships of superior force, might effect their passage across the channel, and land an army on the coast of Britain, which would instantly march forward, and carry the capital by a *coup de main*.

Before the Easter recess, an act was passed to relieve Roman catholics from certain penalties and disabilities, on subscribing the declaration and oath contained in the act of the thirty-first of George III.: an important addition was also made to the criminal law, by a bill introduced into the upper house by lord Ellenborough, to make the maliciously maiming, wounding, and disfiguring of any of his majesty's subjects a capital felony: attempts also to discharge loaded fire-arms, with intent to kill or wound, were subjected to the penalty of death. In the midst of discussions on military affairs, ecclesiastical matters were not overlooked; for a very important act, known as the clergy bill of the forty-third of George III., was now passed, 'to amend the laws relating to spiritual persons holding farms; and for enforcing the residence of such persons on their benefices in England.'³ This bill not only regulated the quantity of land which clergymen might cultivate, but exacted residence on their benefices, with particular exceptions and

³ The act was extended to Ireland, in stat. 48 George III. c. 66.

alleviations, during nine months in the year; giving to the bishops a power of granting licenses of non-residence, during two years, under certain conditions; and of assigning a salary to curates suitable to the value of the benefice and the circumstances of the case; an appeal in such licenses being reserved to the archbishops. Some other acts were also passed,⁴ by which amendments were made in that relating to queen Anne's bounty, and the mortmain act; to encourage the building of churches, chapels, and houses of residence. As Mr. Windham had more than once used in the house of commons terms of great asperity and contempt towards the volunteer corps, which he styled 'the depositaries of panic;' to remove any supposition that such sentiments were generally entertained, Mr. Sheridan, on the tenth of August, moved that the thanks of the house be given to the volunteer and yeomanry corps of Great Britain, for the zeal and promptitude with which they had associated for the defence of the nation: he also proposed that returns of the different corps be laid before the house, in order that they might be entered on its journals, and thus handed down to posterity. Both these propositions were carried unanimously; and on the twelfth of August the session was closed by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty expressed great satisfaction at the energy and promptitude which had been displayed in providing for the defence of the country, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war; assuring his parliament that economy in the public expenditure should be carried as far as was consistent with the exertions necessary to frustrate the designs of the enemy. At this interesting period, the prince of Wales addressed a letter to the prime minister, urging the propriety of his being invested with an efficient military rank, and placed in a situation where his example might contribute to excite the loyal energies of the people. In reply to repeated applications on this subject, his royal highness was informed, that should the enemy so far succeed, as to effect a landing, he would have an opportunity of showing his zeal at the head of his regiment; but on public grounds, his majesty could never permit the prince of Wales to consider the army as a profession. A more fit and constitutional answer could not have been given: but the prince, in his rejoinder, dwelt with an unbecoming jealousy on the commands enjoyed by his royal brothers; as if the succession to

⁴ See Evans's Collection of Statutes relating to the Clergy, p. 127, &c.

the crown did not far overbalance such petty advantages. In a letter to the duke of York, he went so far as to call 'the opportunity of displaying his zeal at the head of his regiment,' with which his father had consoled him, 'a degrading mockery,' although patriotic ardor had been the very motive assigned for his application. The earnest and indignant tone of his royal highness's correspondence, and the terms of duty and respect in which he appealed to the paternal heart, produced a considerable effect on the sympathies of the nation, until it was discovered that the whole was the composition of others.⁵ The petulance of the prince's character was strongly exhibited in his last letter to Mr. Addington, who had requested him, in consequence of some intelligence, the nature of which was kept secret, not to proceed to Brighton; but his royal highness, with a species of mock heroism, replied, that if the intelligence related, as he presumed, to some attempt of the enemy, he was bound by the king's precise order, and by that honest zeal which was not allowed any fitter sphere for action, to hasten to his regiment: he must therefore deem it necessary to proceed to Brighton immediately. So ended this momentous correspondence, bringing no great credit to the heir apparent or his advisers.

During the summer, an insurrection, accompanied by circumstances of peculiar atrocity, broke out in Ireland; and, from its presumed connexion with the projects of the enemy, created considerable alarm: its instigators were a band of political enthusiasts, at the head of which was Robert Emmett, a young man of promising talents, and brother to the barrister of that name, who took a prominent part in the late rebellion: on account of his unguarded conduct, he had been expelled from the university of Dublin, and had found it prudent to reside abroad so long as the habeas corpus act was suspended; but, on the removal of that obstacle, he returned to Ireland, and arrived there in December, 1802. The people were still complaining of tyranny and oppression; and in few countries, indeed, could a larger proportion of the community be found more destitute of all the comforts of life: hence they were taught to believe that they were excluded from the fostering care of a just government, and consigned, without remorse, to all the miseries of degradation and penury: a party, therefore, was formed for the purpose of endeavoring to overturn the existing system, by whom he was joyfully received. Though the principal persons, immediately connected with Emmett,

⁵ The writers were lord Hutchinson and Sir Robert Wilson.

Russell, Dowdall, Redmond, Stafford, and Coigley, did not much exceed 100; yet these infatuated men were so sanguine as to suppose that the spirit of rebellion would, at their bidding, pervade the whole kingdom; and the usual intimation, the stoppage of the mail-coaches, was to be the signal of revolt in the country; while the grand object of the insurgents in the metropolis was to secure the seat and ministers of government, and proclaim a new constitution. For some days previous to the fatal explosion, information of the danger had been conveyed to the viceroy, but he seemed to think that no extraordinary precautions were requisite; probably wishing to avoid the excitement of alarm; and conceiving that it would be better to wait for an explosion, which might be quelled at once; than to announce a discovery, which would leave the remains of a plot to produce future mischief. Though the efforts of the conspirators to rouse a rebellious spirit in the country to a wide extent were far from successful, they determined to make the attempt in the city; and, on Saturday, the twenty-third of July, towards evening, a mob began to assemble in St. James's-street and its vicinity; pikes having been deliberately placed along the sides of the streets, for the accommodation of all who might choose to arm themselves. About nine o'clock, the concerted signal was given, by a number of men riding furiously through the principal parts of the city; but a general alarm was not excited, until one Clarke, who had that afternoon apprised government of the intention of the insurgents, was shot at, and dangerously wounded: at this period, a small piece of ordnance, together with a sky-rocket, was discharged; and Emmett, at the head of his associates, sallied forth from his head-quarters in Marshalsea-lane: before they reached the end of it, one of the party discharged a blunderbuss at colonel Browne, who was passing by, unconscious of the tumult, and killed him on the spot; from which period nothing more was heard of Emmett, or his chief associates, till they were found caught by the power of the offended laws.

The dreadful assassination of the chief justice of Ireland, lord Kilwarden, was the most lamentable event of this rash and criminal enterprise. That unfortunate nobleman had, on the day of the insurrection, retired to his country-seat, about four miles from Dublin, after having fulfilled the duties of his judicial office: but, on the first intimation of this commotion, his lordship, who had been attorney-general at the time of the great rebellion, and had ever since that period lived in perpetual apprehension of assassination, ordered out his carriage,

and set off instantly for Dublin, accompanied by his daughter, and his nephew, the reverend Richard Wolfe: unfortunately, they arrived in Thomas-street immediately after the insurgents had opened a *dépôt* of arms, and were recognised by an infuriated mob, who dragged both his lordship and his nephew to the ground, and stabbed them to death with pikes; while the lady was permitted to pass to the castle unmolested through the rebel mass. About half-past ten, the insurgents were, in their turn, attacked; and all their mighty projects discomfited in less than an hour, by a small body of regular troops.

The privy-council issued a proclamation, offering large rewards for the detection of the miscreants who had committed the above-mentioned murders; and a notice was issued by the lord mayor, requiring all the inhabitants, except the yeomanry, to keep within doors after eight in the evening: at the same time, bills for suspending the habeas corpus act, and for placing Ireland under martial law, were rapidly forwarded through their different stages in the united parliament: arrangements were also made for sending troops from England; and every measure which prudence could dictate was adopted, to secure the public tranquillity. On this occasion, the Roman catholics, with lord Fingal at their head, loyally came forward to express their abhorrence of the atrocities perpetrated on the twenty-third of July, and to offer their assistance to government: by such exertions the flame of rebellion was intirely extinguished; when a special commission was issued for the trial of the rebels. Edward Kearney, a calender, and Thomas Maxwell Roche, an old man, nearly seventy years of age, were first executed in Thomas-street, the focus of the late insurrection: several others also experienced the same fate; but the most important of these proceedings was the arraignment of Robert Emmett on the nineteenth of September, who was found guilty on the clearest evidence, and executed on the following day on a temporary gallows in Thomas-street. In the ensuing month, Thomas Russell, who was far superior to most of the conspirators in understanding and respectability, also expiated his offences under the hands of the executioner: Coigley and Stafford were arraigned on the twenty-ninth of October; but, in consideration of their having made a full disclosure of all circumstances connected with the conspiracy, no farther proceedings were taken against them, or any of the remaining prisoners.

A few days after the king's message had been sent to par-

liament, the French admiral, Linois, was despatched from the port of Brest for the East Indies, with a strong squadron, from which also the Dutch garrison at the Cape might receive reinforcements. The armies of the republic were ordered to be increased to 480,000 men; that of Holland being destined to occupy Hanover; that of Lombardy to invade Naples and to garrison Tarentum, with other strong ports on the Adriatic. Buonaparte could only combat his maritime foe, by rendering all the shores of that element which she ruled, hostile to her navy, and impervious to her commerce: he therefore attempted to bestride Europe like a huge colossus, one foot in the Mediterranean, and the other in the Baltic. On the twenty-fifth of May, general Mortier summoned the electorate of Hanover to surrender; the first consul being determined to occupy that country as a pledge for the restitution of Malta. The Hanoverians, unable to contend with any prospect of success, soon capitulated; and Mortier, taking peaceable possession of the country, was enabled to control the navigation of the Elbe and the Weser, as well as to levy contributions on the rich Hans towns of Hamburg and Bremen: in consequence however of this seizure, and the interruption of commerce, a British squadron was appointed to blockade the mouths of those rivers; and this spirited measure, which might be considered as a retaliation on Germany for permitting such a violation of its territory, occasioned such distress to Hamburg and Bremen, that they appealed to the king of Prussia, as one of the protectors of the neutrality of the empire: but he declined to interfere; and the French were left to continue their exactions with impunity. The surrender of Hanover by England, without a struggle, was not an unwise policy; for she thus placed the courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg in the disagreeable dilemma of lowering their sovereign dignity before Napoleon, or of seeking an alliance with herself: to counteract this, the plan of the first consul was, by menaces or bribery to draw Prussia into a cordial but submissive alliance with France. When the French usurpation of Hanover had made that power sensible of the inconvenience of a state of indecision toward France, and of the advantages of a close alliance with her, Hanover was the bribe proposed: all the old ministers, except Hardenburg, were disposed to accept it; when the Russian emperor Alexander happening to visit Berlin, his sentiments turned the scale: the queen and the court were led by his higher feelings of honor to despise the artful insinuations of Duroc and the other French agents; while the king,

rejecting the dishonorable gift of France, was inspired with the nobler desire of securing the independence of the empire.

Though a field of battle was denied as yet to Buonaparte, his activity was turned towards military organisation; and he now formed the armies, and prepared the resources, with which he afterwards achieved such brilliant conquests. The Italian fortress of Alessandria was strengthened at an immense expense, to be, as it were, the citadel of Lombardy: from Otranto to the Texel, almost every coast and harbor saw fortifications rise about it: severe exactions were imposed on the Batavian and Italian republics; pecuniary assistance was drawn from Spain and Portugal; and the supplies of the French treasury were farther augmented by the sale of Louisiana to the United States for three millions of dollars: but the army and flotilla collected for the invasion of England were the grand objects of contemplation: the former was swelled by contingents of allied states, and the chief commands in it were given to Soult, Davoust, and Ney; the familiarity of his old generals having become disagreeable to the consular dignity.

The naval campaign of the present year was not distinguished by any very brilliant exploits. In June, an expedition under general Grinfield and commodore Hood captured the islands of St. Lucie and Tobago; and in September, the Dutch colonies of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice surrendered: the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon also contributed to swell the list of British conquests; and to these successes may be added that of compelling the French to abandon the valuable colony of St. Domingo. In Europe, the port and town of Granville were attacked on the fourteenth of September by Sir James Saumarez, by whom the pier was demolished, and a number of vessels destined for the invasion of England were destroyed. The town and port of Dieppe were bombarded by captain Owen, in the *Immortalité* frigate, with two bomb-vessels: the Dutch ports also, from the Zandvoort to Scheveningen, were severely bombarded, and many ships destroyed.

CHAP. XLVI.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1803.

Meeting of parliament, and king's speech, &c.—Failure of Russian mediation announced—Suspension of the habeas corpus, and martial law, continued in Ireland—Army estimates, volunteers, &c.—General effective force in the army and navy—The king's indisposition, and speedy recovery—Opposition to the ministry joined by Mr. Pitt—His motion respecting the naval department lost—Debates on the measures of defence—Ministers, left in small majorities, determine to resign—Measure of finance brought forward, and the cabinet dissolved—Mr. Pitt again at the head of affairs—His supposed wishes, and attempts to form a cabinet—Slave-trade abolition carried in the lower, and lost in the upper house—Additional force act—Corn laws—Arrears and regulations of the civil list—Prorogation of parliament—Internal affairs of France—Murder of the duc d'Enghien—Buonaparte assumes the imperial dignity—Francis II. relinquishes his supremacy over the Germanic empire—Naval transactions—Seizure of Sir George Rumbold—His liberation—Rigor of the French government—Failure of the Catamaran project—Coalition of Mr. Pitt and Addington—Meeting of parliament—Supplies—Roman catholic petition—Impeachment of lord Melville—Mr. Pitt's last speech—Napoleon crowned king of Italy at Milan—Formation of a new coalition against France—Dissensions in the British cabinet, and decline of Mr. Pitt's health.

PARLIAMENT re-assembled on the twenty-second of November, when his majesty, after alluding to the measures adopted for the vigorous prosecution of the war, and some other less important subjects, declared, in reference to the menaces of an invading foe, that as he and his people were embarked in a common cause, it was his fixed determination, should occasion arise, to share their exertions and dangers in defence of the constitution. The usual addresses were agreed to without opposition; and it was stated by the chancellor of

the exchequer, that the offer of mediation made by the court of St. Petersburg had been readily accepted on the part of his majesty's ministers; but the discussions which arose in consequence of it had not led to any amicable arrangements with France. Mr. secretary Yorke carried a motion, though not without some difficulty, for continuing the suspension of the habeas corpus act in Ireland, and for the re-enactment of martial law in that country. A debate, on the ninth of December, produced by a motion for referring the army estimates to a committee of supply, embraced an extensive view of the general defence of the country: the regular force proposed for the public service amounted to 167,000 men; the embodied militia of Great Britain and Ireland were 110,000, and the volunteer corps upwards of 400,000: for this latter force, of which about 45,000 served without pay, it was proposed to vote the sum of £730,000 for one year; on which occasion, Mr. Windham inveighed with much acrimony against the military system adopted by ministers; and pointed out the inferiority of volunteer associations and bodies of reserve, to a regular army of genuine soldiers, disciplined for offensive as well as defensive warfare: but his objections were met by very animated and argumentative replies from Mr. Pitt and lord Castlereagh: according to the statement of the latter, the effective force of this country, in rank and file, comprehending every description of troops, amounted to 615,000 men; while the commissioned and non-commissioned officers augmented it to 700,000. The number of ships of war amounted to 469; and an armed flotilla, to aid in defending the coasts, comprehending 800 craft of all descriptions, was nearly completed: since the commencement of hostilities, there had been issued 312,000 muskets, 16,000 pistols, and 77,000 pikes: the field-train also in Great Britain alone was increased from 356 to 460 pieces of ordnance, with complete appointments; while the stores had been nearly doubled. Mr. Fox applauded the zeal and patriotism shown by the volunteers; but he could not believe that they were capable of acting as effectively as regulars: the minister, on the other hand, stated, that lord Moira, who commanded in Scotland, and lord Cathcart, in Ireland, were so well satisfied with the steadiness and discipline of that force, as to declare unconditionally that they would lead them with confidence against any invaders.

On the fourteenth of February, an official bulletin, announcing that his majesty was much indisposed, excited public sympathy, from an apprehension of the recurrence of

that malady by which he had formerly been afflicted: the attack however was not so serious as to render a suspension of the royal functions necessary; and, on the ninth of March, the fears of his majesty's loyal subjects were removed by the assurance of the lord chancellor, that he had conceived it proper to have a personal interview with the sovereign, in order to submit some bills for the royal assent; and from the discussion which had taken place, he had no hesitation to declare, that he felt himself fully justified in asserting, 'that the king was in a state to warrant the lords commissioners in giving the royal assent to several bills.'

A message from the sovereign on the twenty-sixth of March announced a voluntary offer of the Irish militia to extend their services to Great Britain; and bills were passed, enabling his majesty to accept it, and to raise 10,000 additional militia in Ireland.

A systematic attack on the ministry was at this time pursued by all parties in opposition, through the medium of investigations into the military and naval affairs of the empire: Mr. Pitt also, after sinking into a languid approval of administration, appeared in the character of a direct antagonist. Opinions differed respecting the motives of his conduct: some thought that he was alarmed at Mr. Addington's exclusive possession of the royal confidence, and especially provoked by the appointment of Mr. Tierney to the treasurership of the navy; while others considered him as actuated by patriotic motives, and a desire of rescuing his country from the hands of a feeble government. This opposition was particularly displayed during the progress of the bill to consolidate and explain the laws relative to volunteers; but the course of debate on this subject was interrupted by a motion, of which Mr. Pitt had before given notice, respecting the naval force of the country; which lord St. Vincent, acting on false notions of economy, had reduced from the extensive scale and complete organisation to which it attained under lord Spencer. This question was expected, more than any other, to try the strength of an administration, which, though favored by the court, had continued to lose ground with parliament and the public ever since the signature of the treaty of Amiens.

On the fifteenth of March, after expressing an expectation that part of the documents which he intended to call for would be readily granted by ministers, Mr. Pitt moved for an address, requesting that his majesty would order to be laid before parliament an account of the number of ships in commission

on the thirty-first of December, 1793 ; on the thirtieth of September, 1801 ; and on the thirty-first of December, 1803 ; specifying the service in which they were respectively employed : he made his motion from a conviction, that if the papers were granted, it would be seen that our naval force was, at the present moment, much less adequate to the exigency of the danger than at any former period. Supposing these documents granted, his next motion would be for a copy of contracts made, and orders given, in 1793, 1797, and 1803, with respect to the number of gun-vessels to be built : the board of admiralty had considered gun-boats peculiarly advantageous for resisting invasion ; yet in the course of one year they had built only twenty-three, while the enemy had constructed about 1000. From the time when hostilities were renewed, our navy ought to have been undergoing an increase instead of a diminution : yet government had only contracted for the building of two ships of the line in merchant-yards ; though it was well known, that in time of war, the building of ships was nearly suspended in the royal yards, which were then wanted for repairing damages sustained in the service : it was also worthy of observation, that in the first year of the late contest, our naval establishment was augmented from 16,000 to 76,000 seamen ; whereas, having begun the present war with an establishment of 50,000, we had only increased them to 86,000 during the course of the first year.

Mr. Tierney objected strongly to the production of the papers required, being unable to conceive how the measure could, for a single instant, be entertained by the house, when no cause, no single fact, was adduced in support of it ; when all possible energy pervaded that branch of the public service ; when naval skill, vigilance, and activity were displayed in every quarter ; and when the best officers were employed in every direction, with the highest honor to themselves and advantage to the country. Mr. Sheridan warmly eulogised the character and conduct of the first lord of the admiralty ; while Fox and others, adopting a different course, supported the motion for inquiry, and declared that it must terminate to the honor of earl St. Vincent. The debate lasted several hours ; and on a division, the motion was lost by a majority of 201 votes against 130.

On the twenty-third of April, Fox moved for a committee to revise the several bills that had been proposed for the defence of the country ; when Pitt again took an extensive view of its actual state. There was but one point on which these two

eminent men differed on this occasion ; and that was, the power vested in the sovereign of calling out all the subjects of his realm to defend the country in case of invasion. Fox was perhaps the first statesman who ventured to question the royal prerogative in this particular ; for nothing is more clearly prescribed by our law writers, than that the power of ordering his subjects of every description to repair to his standard, when the country is menaced with invasion, is vested in the king. Pitt asserted and maintained this principle : but the concurrence of sentiment between these rival statesmen on all other points produced a division, in which ministers had a majority of only fifty-two in a very large house. Two days afterwards, another debate arose on this subject, in consequence of a motion by Mr. Yorke, for the house to resolve itself into a committee on a bill for suspending the army of reserve act : this was resisted by Mr. Pitt ; and on a division, there appeared in support of the ministerial plan a majority of only thirty-seven. Mr. Addington now resolved to retire from office as soon as the financial concerns of the year could be adjusted : the supplies were estimated at £36,000,000 for Great Britain alone ; and the ways and means consisted of certain additions to the war taxes, a loan of £10,000,000, and a vote of credit for £2,500,000. On the twelfth of May, it was announced that the cabinet was dissolved, and that Mr. Pitt had resumed his place at the helm.

It was understood to be his wish to unite in the present administration so large a portion of existing talent, character, and experience, as might create national confidence at a season of extraordinary danger. Whether he was sincere in his desire to secure the assistance of lord Grenville and Mr. Fox, has been doubted, because ‘ he could bear no rival ; ’ and it was the opinion of his friends, that he could achieve every thing by his single prowess : this was expressly avowed in parliament by Mr. Canning, during a discussion on the army estimates in 1802 ; when he declared, ‘ that he was far from objecting to the large military establishments proposed ; although, for the purpose of coping with Buonaparte, one great commanding spirit was worth them all.’ Mr. Pitt however certainly professed to wish for the co-operation of those two statesmen ; and the personal objection of the king to Mr. Fox seemed the only obstacle to it : lord Grenville refused to take office without him ; and Mr. Pitt placed himself at the head of a cabinet, substantially recruited from that which he had just displaced. Under this new arrangement, the following members of Mr.

Addington's administration retained their stations:—the duke of Portland, as president of the council; lord Eldon, chancellor; the earl of Westmorland, lord privy seal; the earl of Chatham, master-general of the ordnance; and lord Castlereagh, president of the board of control: lord Hawkesbury passed from the office of foreign affairs to the home department. The new members, beside Mr. Pitt himself, were lord Melville, first lord of the admiralty; lord Harrowby, secretary for foreign affairs; lord Camden, secretary for the department of war and colonies; and lord Mulgrave, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, with a seat in the cabinet: the government of Ireland lost only Mr. Wickham, the chief secretary, who was succeeded by Sir Evan Nepean. The following new appointments were made in the subordinate offices of state:—Mr. William Dundas became secretary at war; George Rose and lord Charles Somerset joint paymasters of the forces; the duke of Montrose and lord Charles Spencer joint paymasters-general; Messrs. Huskisson and Sturges Bourne secretaries to the treasury; and Mr. Canning treasurer of the navy. That oligarchical principle, which condemned this latter gentleman to so inferior an office, while it gave to lords Castlereagh and Hawkesbury seats in the cabinet, has been condemned as 'an incubus on political freedom and individual talent:' at a future period, he was destined to experience its bitterest effects.

Mr. Wilberforce, on the thirtieth of May, pressed the consideration of the abolition of the slave-trade; and, after an animated debate, the motion, supported both by Fox and Pitt, was carried by 124 votes against 49: a bill consequently was brought forward, limiting the period for ships to clear out from English ports for this traffic to the first of October, 1804; and the third reading was carried, on the twenty-eighth of June, by sixty-nine voices against thirty-three: but in the upper house it was rejected, on the ground of its being brought forward at so late a period of the season, that parties interested would be unable to obtain substantial justice.

A plan for raising and supporting a permanent military force, and for a general reduction of the additional militia, was introduced by the minister on the fifth of June, under the title of the additional force act. This measure aimed at an establishment, which might not merely meet present circumstances, but serve for the immediate improvement of the existing system, and supply a sufficient resource to the regular army, should opportunities occur of employing our troops abroad. The bill

was strenuously opposed by Windham, Fox, Addington, and others; but was ultimately carried through the commons by small ministerial majorities: in the upper house it passed by 150 voices against 69.

On the twentieth of June, the house entered into a discussion of the corn laws. It has often been maintained that the whole system of these laws is prejudicial to the public interests, and that they ought to be totally repealed, leaving the trade free, and the prices to find their own level; but, at this time, in consequence of a report of the commons, it was thought expedient to adopt new legislative regulations concerning them. From that document, it appeared that the price of corn, from 1791 to 1803, had been irregular; but had, on an average, yielded a fair remuneration to the grower: the effect of high prices had been to stimulate industry, and bring into cultivation large tracks of waste land; which, added to the last two favorable seasons, had occasioned such a depreciation in the value of grain, as would, it was said, tend to discourage agriculture, unless immediate relief were afforded; and for this purpose, although, within the last thirteen years, no less a sum than £30,000,000 had been paid to foreign countries for supplies of corn, it was now proposed to annex a bounty to exportation: with this view, a bill was introduced, allowing exportation, when the price of wheat was at, or below, forty-eight shillings a quarter; and importation, when the average price in the twelve maritime counties of England should exceed sixty-six shillings: and the measure, which was denominated by lord Stanhope, 'a bill to starve the poor,' passed into a law.

On the second of July, the house of commons resolved itself into a committee of supply, to which several accounts were referred relative to the augmentation of the civil list, the arrears of which now reached £590,000. This excess of expenditure, as it was stated, had arisen from a variety of expenses incurred by services which could not be foreseen in the year 1802, when the house voted the discharge of arrears then due: with respect to its future condition, a proposal was made, that several payments on the list should be annually discharged by parliament: these amounted to £135,000, and related to fluctuating charges; many of them arising from the war, and others from increased law expenses: the house assented to the proposal, with scarcely any opposition.

When parliament was prorogued on the thirty-first of July, the king expressed a hope that the exertions of this country

might, by their influence on other states, lead to the re-establishment of a system, which would oppose a barrier against those schemes of unbounded ambition which threatened to overwhelm the ancient monarchies of Europe.

We must now advert briefly to the internal affairs of France. In February, a plot was detected at Paris, the object of which was to subvert the consular government: the principal persons accused, were general Pichegru, Georges Cadoudal, a noted Chouan chief, Lajolais his confidant, the two Polignacs, and Moreau, the conqueror of Hohenlinden; a valiant soldier, but a weak man. This conspiracy was attributed to the machinations of the British government, whereas it arose from the Bourbons resident in England: it was however totally defeated. Pichegru, finding his case desperate, strangled himself in prison; Georges, with about twenty more, being found guilty, were condemned to death, though the majority were pardoned; and Moreau, having been sentenced to imprisonment for two years, was allowed to retire as an exile into the United States. During the examinations, it was elicited from some of the conspirators, that the duc d'Enghien, eldest son of the duc de Bourbon, was an accomplice; and that, aware of the plot going on, he was waiting on the frontiers to enter France, as soon as he should receive news of the first consul's assassination: at the same time, it was known that the duc de Berri was about to attempt a landing at Dieppe. Savary was sent to lie in wait for him, but he came not; and as a party around Napoleon wished to secure themselves against the possible return of the Bourbons, it was necessary to have a victim, and thus to compromise their master. Fouché persuaded him that his life was aimed at: the order was given; and a party of French cavalry, under general Caulincourt, passed the Rhine, and carried off the duc d'Enghien from the castle of Ettenheim, in the neutral territory of Baden: this being effected on the fifteenth of March, he was conveyed to the castle of Strasburg, and thence sent forward to Paris; where, on his arrival, he was securely lodged in the Temple: scarcely an interval however of repose was allowed to this unhappy prince; for he was almost immediately transferred to the castle of Vincennes; and on the very evening of his arrival was dragged before a military commission, found guilty of the crime of bearing arms against France, and condemned to death: the trial lasted but two hours; for the prince, instead of denying the charge, rather gloried in it; and sentence was executed that very night, by nine Italian grenadiers, in the ditch of the castle. According

to Napoleon's own confession, 'he was the best of the family.' He behaved with great dignity before the court martial, and died with a noble spirit of resignation, expressing great satisfaction that his executioners were not Frenchmen. While in the prison of Strasburg, the duke wrote a letter to the first consul, in which he offered to disclose all he knew, on the assurance of a pardon; but this letter was concealed by interested parties from the French ruler, until the execution was over. From the secrecy and rapidity connected with this lamentable affair, posterity will ever consider, and denominate it, a judicial murder: even in France it excited thrilling sensations of horror; but in foreign countries it was stigmatised in becoming terms; and several notes respecting the violated neutrality of the empire, were delivered to the diet of Ratisbon, and addressed to the French minister for foreign affairs.

To divert public attention from this atrocity, the discovery of another plot for overturning the French government was announced, in which Mr. Drake, British minister at the Bavarian court, and Mr. Spenser Smith, envoy to the duke of Wurtemberg, were implicated. It appeared from some intercepted letters, that Mr. Drake had corresponded with a person who persuaded him that such a plot was in existence, and had exulted over the speedy accomplishment of some such design: the agent however was employed only to betray him: the correspondence, after having been made the subject of a special report to the first consul, was communicated to the elector; and the British envoy was dismissed from the Bavarian territories: Spenser Smith, who was beset with pretended conspirators, was also under the necessity of leaving Stutgard.

As the character of the British government seems implicated in these transactions, it is satisfactory to find incontestable evidence, acquitting it of all those atrocious designs, which the policy of an enemy at that time attributed to its spirit of Machiavelism. M. de Bourrienne, who himself examined the intercepted correspondence, declares, that its whole bearing proved only what Buonaparte could not be ignorant of, that England was his declared enemy; but that it contained nothing which could justify a belief that the British government authorised any attempt at assassination:⁶ at the same time, it must be confessed, that the encouragement given to Bourbon conspiracies and projects, by landing their agents from our ships of war, was derogatory to that high and honorable

⁶ See his Memoirs, English edition, vol. ii. p. 264.

bearing, which had ever distinguished Great Britain both in war and peace; while the failure of all these projects served only to place her enemy in a more advantageous position. A circular letter was transmitted to the various members of the diplomatic corps, inveighing strongly against 'such a prostitution of the most honorable function that can be entrusted to a man, such a profanation of the sacred character of ambassador, as transformed him into a minister of plots, snares, and corruption.' 'All the ministers, plenipotentiaries, and envoys,' says de Bourrienne, 'whatever might be their denomination, expressed horror and indignation against these machinations: their answers were returned only five days after the death of d'Enghien's death; 'and here,' he observes, 'one cannot help admiring the adroitness of Buonaparte, who thus compelled all the representatives of the European governments to give official testimonies of regard for his person and government.'

The present state of affairs now served as a ladder for Napoleon to mount from the consular to the imperial dignity. Addresses, composed in a strain of servile adulation, had some time previously been prepared; and on the eighteenth of May, a decree was finally passed by the senate, abolishing the constitution, and declaring Napoleon Buonaparte emperor of the French, with the imperial dignity hereditary in his family. The pomp of courtly attendance was bestowed on this new government, in princes, grand dignitaries, marshals, chamberlains, and pages: Joseph and Louis Buonaparte were recognised as French princes: Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessièrès, Kellerman, Lefèbvre, Perignon, and Serrurier were nominated marshals of the empire: addresses of congratulation poured in from all the departments; and the clergy compared Napoleon to a second Moses, a modern Cyrus, 'in whose elevation the finger of God was visible.' In order to complete the pageant, the pope himself came from Rome to consecrate this new Charlemagne; and on the second of December, the ceremony took place in Nôtre Dame: but it is remarkable that Buonaparte placed the crown on his own head, as well as on that of Josephine.

We are now arrived at the third division of professor Heeren's last period in the history of the European states-system; when a potentate with unexampled resources had arrived half-way on his road to universal monarchy. His sovereignty in the interior of France was absolute; his dominion extended to the Rhine, and beyond the Alps: Spain and Italy, with the

Helvetic and Batavian republics, and the German states on the Rhine, were kept in dependence by alliances or fear; the occupation of Hanover stationed a French army in the very heart of the Prussian monarchy, and on the frontiers of Denmark; while Austria, fearing hostilities, and liable to invasion, not only deprecated her conqueror's wrath by acknowledging his imperial title, but yielded up her own supremacy over the Germanic empire, which was no longer to be considered as united under one head. In the month of August, Francis issued a decree, by which his title of emperor of Germany was exchanged for that of Austria; and Napoleon saw with undissembled pride the creation of an imperial title by the first court in Europe, more recent than his own. The distant Russia alone, with Sweden, stood erect; but with a more gloomy aspect since the murder of the duc d'Enghien: both these nations refused to acknowledge the new imperial dignity; and both, before the close of the autumn, broke off their diplomatic relations with the French court. The appeal however of the Russian emperor to the diet of Ratisbon failed to rouse the spirit of the Germanic body: Prussia, whose influence in the north of the empire was supreme, showed, like Baden, no disposition to resist the aggressions of Napoleon; and a great majority of the other states, lying at the mercy of France, and fearing a renewal of hostilities, maintained an inflexible silence, and adopted a cautious policy. Still Austria was steadily employed in repairing the losses of war, and improving the condition of her military establishments; while Russia, having insisted on the evacuation of Naples by the French troops, and an indemnification according to treaty for the king of Sardinia, had occasioned the French emperor to remove into Italy some of the battalions destined for the invasion of England.

Buonaparte spared no efforts to acquire the means of meeting the British navy on equal terms. By a convention with Genoa, he obtained, in return for some commercial advantages, the service of 6000 seamen during the war, with the use of its harbors, arsenals, and dock-yards; while the Ligurian republic engaged at its own expense to enlarge the basin for the reception of ten sail of the line, which were to be constructed immediately: besides, he had now the fleets of Spain intirely at his disposal; for the Spanish government, having been compelled by France to make preparations for the resumption of hostilities, was, unfortunately for itself, anticipated by Great Britain. A negociation was pending between the cabinets of London and Madrid, when despatches from admiral Cochrane made

known to our admiralty the large scale on which preparations were carried on in the port of Ferrol: he expressed his conviction, that in a few days a very formidable squadron would be ready for sea; and doubted not but that the Spanish government waited only for the arrival of a fleet, conveying treasures from South America, in order to commence open hostilities. In consequence of this information, captain Moore was sent with four frigates to cruise off Cadiz, for the purpose of intercepting and detaining such Spanish ships of war homeward-bound, as contained bullion or treasure. On the fifth of October, he fell in with four large frigates; which, finding themselves pursued, formed in line of battle, and continued steering for Cadiz, without heeding his summons to shorten sail. The British commodore then fired a shot across the bows of the second frigate, which brought them to a parley; and the Spanish commander was informed that captain Moore had instructions to detain his squadron; that it was his wish to execute this duty without bloodshed; but the surrender must be made instantly. Castilian honor could not yield to this insulting declaration, and a close conflict was the consequence; when, in less than ten minutes, the Spanish ship, *Las Mercedes*, blew up, and the others struck in succession, after sustaining considerable loss.

A mournful incident attended the explosion of *Las Mercedes*; the whole crew of which perished, except her second captain and forty-five men, picked up by the boats of the *Amphion*. A gentleman of rank, who was returning to Spain in that ship, with his whole family, consisting of his lady, four daughters, and five sons, had passed with one of the latter on board another frigate before the action commenced; and they had the horror of witnessing the dreadful catastrophe, which in a moment severed from them their dearest relatives, and deprived them of a large fortune, accumulated during an expatriation of five and twenty years. The squadron was from the Rio de la Plata, and contained, beside merchandise of great value, more than 4,000,000 dollars, of which about 800,000 were on board the frigate which exploded. The admiralty was deservedly blamed for not having sent such a force to intercept these ships, as would have warranted their commander to submit, without impeachment to his honor; whereas the equality of strength rendered a sanguinary combat inevitable. Negotiations were not immediately broken off in consequence of this event; but after some time consumed in fruitless endeavors by the British government to obtain a disclosure of

existing engagements between France and Spain, his catholic majesty issued a declaration of war on the twelfth of December.

While our attention is directed to the British navy, we must not forget an extraordinary instance of gallant conduct in captain Dance, senior officer of the China fleet. When admiral Linois withdrew from the roads of Pondicherry, he captured several East India ships; made a successful descent on Bencoolen; and then, collecting his force, which comprised one eighty-gun ship, two of forty, a corvette of twenty-eight, with a cutter and brigantine of eighteen each, cruised off the straits of Malacca, in expectation of the British homeward-bound fleet from Canton. On the fifth of February, this fleet, consisting of fifteen East India company's ships from China, twelve country ships, with a Portuguese Indiaman, and a brig in company, passed Macao roads, when the Portuguese and one China ship separated from the rest: on the fourteenth, the remainder fell in with Linois, and commodore Dance instantly formed a line of battle in close order, as a challenge to the enemy. At sunset, the French squadron was close on his rear ships, but did not attempt any hostile operation during the night: at daybreak, next morning, he was about three miles to windward, when the British commander again offered battle: at one. P. M., captain Dance, being apprehensive lest his rear should be cut off, made the signal to attack each of the enemy's ships in succession. The Royal George, from her advanced situation, sustained the brunt of the action; while the Ganges and Earl Camden opened their fire as soon as they came within distance: but, before any other ship could take part in the affair, the enemy bore away to the eastward, and were pursued for the space of two hours by captain Dance, who thus preserved from capture a property estimated at £1,500,000. On his arrival in England, he was knighted by the king; while liberal rewards were distributed by the East India company among the commanders and their brave crews: nor were the representatives of the few that fell in the engagement forgotten.

The spirit of hostility exhibited by Russia and Sweden, increased the jealousy of the French government against British influence on the continent; and, under the pretence of frustrating a conspiracy, another insult was committed against a neutral state. On the twenty-fifth of October, Sir George Rumbold, British envoy in the circle of Lower Saxony, was seized in his country-house near Hamburg by a party of

French troops, conveyed to Paris, and imprisoned in the Temple. On the subject of this outrage, application was made by our court to that of Berlin; but a remonstrance from his Prussian majesty for the liberation of Sir George had been already attended with success: he was conveyed, under a flag of truce, on board the *Niobe* frigate, off Cherbourg; but the restitution of his papers was in vain demanded. A severer fate awaited the unfortunate captain Wright, who died in the Temple at Paris, under circumstances which gave rise to suspicions that his death was effected by violence: he had been the fellow-prisoner of Sir Sidney Smith, with whom he escaped from captivity; and, after having served with that officer on the coast of Egypt, had effected the landing of Pichegru, Georges, and the rest of the conspirators on the coast of France: on the nineteenth of May, while cruising in Quiberon-bay, he was becalmed, taken prisoner by some French gun-boats, and conveyed to his old place of confinement; but he did not long survive this second captivity.

The British naval operations were chiefly confined to a blockade of the enemy's harbors, and occasional attacks on their flotilla at Boulogne: as this latter force began to put itself into motion about the month of August, and an unusual degree of activity was observed on shore, apprehensions of invasion became very general throughout Great Britain. The various armed vessels of the enemy, although under protection of the batteries, were vigorously attacked by our ships; and the incessant firing on both sides tended to increase the belief that this long-threatened attack was about to take place; under which impression the most active preparations were made to receive the enemy: all fear however subsided, till the beginning of October; when about 150 vessels again ventured outside of the pier at Boulogne, and renewed the apprehension of immediate operations. In order to quiet alarm, and to destroy, if possible, the enemy's means of making a descent on our coasts, ministers adopted the scheme of an American projector, to destroy the flotilla by means of fire-ships and catamarans: these latter machines were copper vessels filled with combustibles, and so constructed as to explode at a given time by clock-work: they were to be fastened to the bows of the vessels by the aid of a small raft, rowed by one man; who, being up to the chin in water, was expected, in the darkness of night, to escape discovery. Sir Sidney Smith and other active officers were selected for this arduous service; the attacking force was covered by lord Keith's blockading

squadron ; and so high was public expectation raised respecting the result of the scheme, that Mr. Pitt, and several other cabinet ministers, came down to Walmer-castle, in order to witness the proceedings. On the second of October, his lordship anchored at the distance of about a league and a half from the port of Boulogne ; and, soon after nine at night, a detachment of fire-ships was launched : as the first vessel came steadily on, with all sails set, the French opened a tremendous fire on her, and were at first astonished at its not being returned : this very circumstance however soon convinced them of the nature of their adversary ; and, as the other fire-ships approached, the flotilla opened passages, and allowed them to advance into the rear. At half-past ten, the first exploded, without the slightest mischief done to ships or batteries ; a second, third, and fourth met with no better success ; and, after twelve vessels had been thus uselessly employed, the engagement ceased : thus the famous catamaran project, on which so much labor and ingenuity had been expended, terminated to the disgrace of those who had adopted a plan of warfare totally at variance with the national character. To Buonaparte it served as a pretext for disseminating the most bitter invective against us throughout the continent ; while many persons were induced to believe that he had not adopted his own violent measures without the means of justification.

Under the existing circumstances of England, France, and other European nations, who, that knew the policy of Mr. Pitt, could doubt his making an attempt to form a new coalition ? The first thing to be done was to procure a powerful continental ally ; and this the late breach between the czar and Buonaparte promised to accomplish : the British minister however only anticipated the wishes of Napoleon, who could no longer permit his immense army to parade idly in sight of the channel. But before Mr. Pitt could engage in these mighty projects abroad, he found it necessary to strengthen his power at home : he had not been long minister, when he felt the necessity of re-inforcement in the cabinet. Lord Grenville, to whom he again applied, honorably refused to separate himself from the interests of Fox ; and, fearing to meet parliament in the ensuing session without assistance, he was reduced to the humiliating necessity of invoking that of Mr. Addington. The public heard this at first with incredulous surprise ; but the reconciliation, insisted on by the king, took place in the royal presence, and was proclaimed early in December.

While Mr. Pitt was laying the foundation of his new coalition, Buonaparte played off another of those tricks, which he frequently adopted, to mislead his adversaries, and to cast a veil over his own projects : a letter written by his own hand was sent to the king of England, with a professed desire, not only of peace, but of disengaging so important a negotiation from the perplexities and delays of cabinet diplomacy. As it had never been customary for the British sovereign to communicate directly with a foreign potentate, lord Mulgrave addressed an answer to the French minister, intimating the king's wishes for the blessing of peace on terms compatible with the permanent security of Europe ; but stating the impracticability of meeting the overture now made more fully, until he had communicated with those continental powers, to whom he stood pledged by confidential connexions and relations.

Mr. Addington, having been called up to the house of peers by the title of viscount Sidmouth, was appointed to succeed the duke of Portland as president of the council : at the same time, lord Mulgrave was made secretary for foreign affairs in the place of lord Harrowby ; the earl of Buckinghamshire obtained the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster ; and Mr. Vansittart, with other friends of lord Sidmouth, was sworn of the privy council. On the fifteenth of January the session of parliament was opened by the king in person, who announced that preparations for invasion were still carried on by France with unceasing activity, though the pacific communications of her ruler had been met by a corresponding disposition on his part ; and that Spain, under French control, had issued a declaration of war against this country. The usual addresses were passed unanimously in both houses.

When the subject of the war with Spain came under discussion, the attack on its frigates, navigating the ocean in supposed security, was severely censured by several speakers ; especially by lord Grenville, who reprobated it as an act of violence, contrary to all the laws of civilised warfare ; ' no capture of treasure,' according to his opinion, ' being able to wash away the stain of innocent blood thus brought on our arms.'

On the twenty-third of January, 120,000 seamen, including marines, were voted for the present year ; and a sum not exceeding £2,886,000, for payment of the men : at the same time, £964,000 were granted for victualling the ships, and £4,680,000 for wear and tear, &c. On the fourth of February, the secretary at war moved the army estimates, which amounted

to £12,395,490 for 312,000 men, under various heads of service. In the budget, which was opened on the eighteenth, the supplies were stated at £44,500,000 for Great Britain and Ireland : the ways and means comprised a loan of £20,000,000 for the former country, and £2,500,000 for the latter. A considerable addition was made to the war taxes ; the income-tax was raised to six and a quarter per cent ; and the salt duty was augmented by one half ; but modifications were made in favor of those who were engaged in the fisheries. The new taxes imposed in perpetuity were estimated at £1,600,000 ; and the minister, while thus adding to the public burdens, concluded an eloquent speech by congratulating the house on the increasing prosperity of the country.

Petitions from the Roman catholics of Ireland, presented by lord Grenville in one house and by Mr. Fox in the other, praying relief from civil disabilities, gave rise to very interesting discussions ; but the minister declared that existing circumstances were unfavorable to their request, which was accordingly rejected by large majorities. As Mr. Pitt resigned office professedly because he could not force the king's conscience to grant the claims of the Roman catholics, and resumed it with an acquiescence in their disabilities,¹ his character has been vehemently attacked, on the score of sacrificing principle to ambition. Whether his memory ought to be so stigmatised, can only be known to that Being who sees into the recesses of the human heart ; therefore it becomes not the historian to decide arrogantly on this point : Mr. Pitt and his party always denied that any express promise was given : his opinions on the subject appear to have undergone considerable modification ; and whether he was justified in sacrificing to expediency opinions so modified, and a promise, not given, but implied ; must be left to the reader's decision : at all events, justice requires us to hear what he said in his own defence. He denied any right, on the part of the Romanists, to a participation of political power, and he considered the question solely on the ground of expediency. Previously to

¹ Many of these disabilities were at this time certainly most grievous and deplorable. A Roman catholic might rise to a lieutenant-colonelcy in the Irish army, but in that of England he could hold no commission : in the navy, a young man could rise no higher than the rank of midshipman : hence the youth of Ireland, who had a taste for the naval profession, were obliged to go to America, and add strength to those who were about to become our enemies.

the union, he thought that in no possible case could the privileges demanded be given, consistently with a due regard to the protestant interest in Ireland, and the internal tranquillity of that kingdom ; to the frame and structure of our constitution ; and to the probability of permanent connexion between the two countries. He admitted, that after the union, he saw the subject in a different light ; and thought, that with a united parliament, these privileges might, under certain guards and conditions, be granted, without danger to the established church or to the protestant constitution ; and he thought so still, if other circumstances formed no objections, and if by a wish these demands could be carried into effect. But in declaring this opinion, he did not mean to shut his eyes against the conviction, that a catholic, however honorable his intentions might be, must feel anxious to advance the interests of his religion, whenever the power and opportunity were favorable to him ; for this was in the very nature of man : neither did he mean to say that the catholics were not engaged in the scenes which preceded the rebellion of 1798 ; nor yet to deny, though jacobin principles were its foundation, that the influence of the priests, themselves tainted with those principles, might have aggravated the evil, though they were not the cause of it. He had hoped to avert danger by adopting measures of caution and security : his wish was not to apply tests to the religious tenets of the catholics, but to render the priests dependent in some sort on the government, or links between it and the people ; in other words, to make it their interest to discharge their duty, and lead their flocks to good, as they had hitherto led them to evil : but he never thought it would be prudent to throw down abruptly the guards and fences of the constitution : even his own system would have been fenced with regulations, giving additional respect and influence to protestant interests. In order however to render such a measure effective, he deemed a general concurrence of the community indispensable : he meant it as a measure of conciliation and peace ; which it could never be, unless it could gratify the wishes of one party, without exciting the fears or jealousy of the other : he saw no appearance of such concurrence at present ; and therefore he thought the discussion of the question could only tend to revive those dissensions, which he wished to extinguish ; to reproduce that acrimony of discussion, which had before prevailed ; and to excite those hopes, which, if they were to be disappointed, might produce the greatest mischief. ‘ I ask any gentleman,’ said he, ‘ whether he does not believe, looking to the opinions of

the members of the established church, of the nobility, of the man of property, of the middle and respectable classes of society, in short, of the mass of protestants both in this country and in Ireland, that there is the greatest repugnance to this measure; and that even if it could be now carried, so far from producing conciliation and union, it would rather tend to disappoint all the prospects of advantage, which, under other circumstances, might be derived from it? Even those who have argued most strongly in its favor, have candidly confessed, that, in the present state of men's minds, it is not likely to be carried. I should disguise my real sentiments, if I did not say that, at present, the prevailing sentiment is strongly against the measure: what circumstances may occur to overcome this sentiment, it is not for me to predict or conjecture.'

It is remarkable, that about this time, the heir-apparent changed his sentiments with regard to catholic emancipation; of which he had been so strenuous an advocate, that in 1797 he submitted to his father in writing, with great earnestness, his opinion of the necessity of that measure: the alteration in his sentiments took place during Mr. Addington's administration; and it appears, from a letter published in Moore's *Life of Sheridan*,² that on the present occasion he directly intimated his wish that Mr. Fox would abstain from presenting the petition: the request came too late; but that, if it had come sooner, it would have been unavailing, we have good assurance in the simple and honest words of his reply; which, as Mr. Moore observes, 'breathe a spirit of sincerity, from which even princes might take a lesson with advantage.' The prince however did not adhere to that political neutrality which he had observed under the late administration; for he now acted openly in concert with the opposition, and occasionally attended in the house of peers, where he took his seat between lords Moira and Grenville: he spoke however only once, to defend the duke of Clarence, who was absent, against some expressions of the lord chancellor; in which case, his observations were made with such facility and propriety, as produced a general expression of regret that he addressed the house so rarely.

On the nineteenth of June, in consequence of a royal message relative to negotiations pending between Great Britain and some of the continental powers, a sum not exceeding £3,500,000 was granted to his majesty, that he might enter

² Vol. ii. p. 333.

into such engagements, and take such measures, as the exigency of the times demanded. On the twelfth of July parliament was prorogued by commission: it remains however to notice some proceedings which occupied a large portion of the session, and which strongly engaged the public attention.

Among the various measures of reform meditated or determined on by the late administration, an inquiry into the abuses of the naval department was one of the most prominent; and a bill was passed in 1803, appointing commissioners for that purpose: this measure owed its origin to lord St. Vincent, then at the head of the admiralty; whose office, on Mr. Pitt's return to power, lord Melville had obtained: in the mean time, the commissioners had produced many reports; the truth of which appeared to implicate the new first lord of the admiralty, who, while he filled the office of treasurer of the navy, had illegally retained in his hands large balances of the public money: this report was brought under the consideration of the house of commons in April, by Mr. Whitbread, who observed, that the commissioners had done their duty to the public; and it was assigned to him to bring to justice those whom they had exposed: nor did the report involve lord Melville only; but Alexander Trotter his paymaster, Mark Sprott a stock-broker, and some others. In exhibiting a charge against this noble lord, he did not accuse a mere unprotected individual; but one who, during a period of thirty years, had been in the uninterrupted possession of lucrative offices, and had exercised an extensive influence on public affairs: he had many individuals attached to him by the consciousness of obligation; and though not personally present, he had no doubt powerful friends in that house, ready to undertake his defence. Mr. Whitbread then referred to the act of 1785, of which lord Melville (then Mr. Dundas) was a supporter, for regulating the department of treasurer of the navy; and also to the order of council, by which his salary was advanced from £2000 to £4000 a year, in lieu of all profits, fees, or emoluments, which might have been derived from the public money lying in his hands. The charges were classed under three heads: first, his application of the public money to other uses than those of the naval department, in express contempt of an act of parliament;—secondly, his connivance at a system of speculation in an individual, for whose conduct he was officially responsible;—and, thirdly, his own participation in that system. 'To the honor of public men,' said Mr. Whitbread, 'charges like the present have seldom been exhibited; and it is a remarkable

circumstance, that the only instance, for a long period, is one that was preferred against Sir Thomas Rumbold by this noble lord himself, on the ground of malversations in India. With respect to the first point of accusation, it appeared from the report, that there had been, for several years, deficiencies in the accounts of the treasurer of the navy, to the amount of £600,000 a year, and upwards: when lord Melville was asked a plain question, respecting the appropriation of this money, he, as well as Trotter, professed total ignorance of the deficiencies; but presently, beginning to recover his recollection, he confessed, that from the year 1786, down to the period of his examination, he had been in the habit of drawing out public money, and placing it in the hands of his own bankers: when the commissioners extended their inquiries a little farther, he had the assurance to declare that they had no right to interfere in his private affairs: in a letter to the commissioners, he acknowledged the fact of advances having been made to him; but said that he could not give the other information required, because he could not disclose state secrets; and because he was not in possession of the accounts of advances made to other departments, having himself committed them to the flames: and not only had the noble lord destroyed the papers, but he had actually lost all recollection of the whole transaction! The second charge against him was, that he had connived at the appropriation of public money to private purposes: Trotter did not deny that he had large sums in the hands of Coutts, his private banker; but remarked, that it was more convenient for the money to be there than in the Bank of England, and also more secure; for the truth of which opinion, he appealed to lord Melville;—to lord Melville, who had framed and sanctioned the bill of 1785! to lord Melville, who, not satisfied with the regulations of that bill, proposed even stricter limitations in 1786! for what purpose however was there so constant a fluctuation in Trotter's account at Coutts's? and why such perpetual draughts for money, in the name of Trotter? at the time when he was anxious for the safety of what passed through his hands, was it always lodged at Coutts's, allowing that to be the fittest place of security? no; it was employed in discounting bills, in forming speculations, in gambling on the stock exchange: no less than £34,000,000 of the public money had passed through the hands of lord Melville's paymaster: and had Trotter's speculation failed, it was not to him, but to his lordship, that the public had to look for redress. While the people were struggling with the heaviest burdens ever laid

on a nation, Trotter, and his silent, discreet broker, Mark Sprott, were putting their heads together to lay out the public money to the greatest advantage; and lord Melville never once inquired into his paymaster's proceedings. On the third part of the subject, (the suspicion of criminal participation) Mr. Whitbread said, that lord Melville had found Trotter a clerk in the navy-pay office; he made him his paymaster, and in a short time his agent: in this situation, his lordship had pecuniary concerns with him to a very considerable amount; but was unable to inform the commissioners, whether the advances made to him by Trotter were from his own or the public money: the truth was, that lord Melville knew, when he first patronised this man, that although well connected, he had no property except what was derived from his salary: it was absolute equivocation, then, for his lordship to pretend ignorance of the source whence Trotter was enabled to supply him with advances.' Mr. Whitbread concluded by moving thirteen resolutions, founded on the circumstances which he had thus developed.

Mr. Pitt, in a long and able speech, observed, that neither the report, nor Mr. Whitbread himself, alleged that any loss to the public had proceeded from the transactions under consideration: he admitted that the subject was of a grave and solemn nature; and that if, in a great pecuniary department irregularities had been committed, though unattended with loss, it might be the duty of the house to set a mark on such proceedings: but all the circumstances of this case were not before them in the report; and, till these were investigated, the house could not be in a situation to come to any vote. On the face of the accounts, £100,000 was the whole amount of the advances made to lord Melville: it was known, that, of all the sums, amounting to £160,000,000, which had passed through his lordship's hands, every farthing had been regularly accounted for; and it would be found that, of the £100,000, which, on the face of the account, was paid to lord Melville, many of the draughts were in reality payments for public services. If this could be made out, as he was informed it could, it was of itself a conclusive argument in favor of inquiry: he therefore moved that a select committee be appointed to consider the tenth report of the commissioners, and the documents connected with it; in order that, having examined the same, they may report their opinion to the house. At the suggestion of Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt consented, in the first instance, to move the previous question.

Tierney observed, that during the period in which he was treasurer of the navy, he felt no inconvenience from complying with the act of parliament; and it was his opinion that the report of the commissioners should be taken as conclusive evidence against lord Melville. After a number of observations from the attorney-general, Mr. Canning, the master of the rolls, and lord Castlereagh, in favor of a select committee, and from lord Henry Petty, Messrs. Ponsonby, Fox, and Wilberforce, in support of the resolutions, the house divided; when, it appearing that there were 216 votes for, and the same number against Mr. Whitbread's motion, the speaker gave a casting vote in its favor.

On the tenth of April the house was informed that lord Melville had tendered a resignation of his office, which had been accepted by his majesty. Mr. Whitbread observed, that, had the issue of the debate on Monday been merely of a personal or party nature, he might have been satisfied with his lordship's removal from the responsibility, dignity, and emolument attached to the situation which he had resigned; but he thought it so necessary that lord Melville should be prevented from ever again polluting with his presence the councils of his sovereign, that, before any other proceeding, he should move an address to the throne, praying his majesty to deprive the noble lord of every civil office held during the pleasure of the crown, and to dismiss him from the national councils for ever: he then asked whether Mr. Pitt was prepared to give a pledge to this effect, and whether Trotter had been dismissed? Mr. Canning replied in the affirmative; but he did not think that the case of lord Melville, which, at the most, amounted to a bare suspicion, warranted the severity of the proceedings now proposed. After an animated conversation, Mr. Whitbread consented to withdraw his motion; in lieu of which, he moved that the resolutions of the former night be laid before his majesty by the whole house; and on the following day they were presented accordingly.

On the sixth of May, Mr. Whitbread moved for the erasure of lord Melville's name from the list of privy-counsellors; when the minister observed, he had reason to believe that the measure was generally considered expedient, and he had therefore felt it his duty to recommend it: he had not given this advice without a bitter pang; but he could not suffer feelings of private friendship to interfere with a declared sense of the majority of that house. Mr. Whitbread then inquired whether lord Melville held any place of profit during the

pleasure of the crown ; and being answered, none but for life, he withdrew his motion.

The commissioners of naval inquiry had, in the early progress of these discussions, been sedulously occupied in researches arising out of the tenth report ; and Mr. Whitbread now gave notice of an intention to move for an impeachment ; which was met, on the part of the honorable Robert Dundas, lord Melville's son, by a requisition, that the noble lord should be previously admitted and heard by the house. Leave having been obtained from both houses, his lordship, escorted by the sergeant at arms, advanced within the bar, and commenced his defence on the eleventh of June : he solemnly asserted that he never knew that Trotter had drawn any money for the purposes of speculation ; and expressed indignation at the charge that such transactions had been conducted with his privity, or that Trotter had enjoyed the advantage of his knowledge of the confidential secrets of government : his lordship as positively denied all participation in Trotter's profits ; but he admitted, that, when the money was drawn for naval purposes, he had suffered him to place it in the house of Coutts and Co., until it should be wanted ; but it was false that he had ever given him power to draw money from the Bank indiscriminately : he certainly did suppose that the paymaster derived a profit from the sums invested in Coutts's bank, but he had never considered it as a clandestine or unlawful proceeding ; and the reason why he had not directly disclaimed any share in those profits at his examination before the committee, was because he had at that moment been informed of the confusion in which his paymaster's accounts stood ; and there was a doubt in his own mind, whether he might not unintentionally have received what was his own property from unlawful profits. His lordship referred to two sums, of about £10,000 each, the circumstances relating to which he felt equally bound, by private honor and public duty, never to disclose ; though he solemnly affirmed that those sums were neither used nor intended to be used for any object or profit by himself : he certainly had directed his agent to procure for him the loan of £20,000, for which he had paid regular interest ; but it was not till within the last six weeks, that he knew Trotter to be the lender of the money. After explaining the nature of his transactions with respect to the loyalty loan, to which he subscribed the sum of £10,000, his lordship declared, that when he destroyed all vouchers, it was because he considered them useless, and not from the remotest apprehen-

sion of danger from their existence. He could scarcely believe that an impeachment was intended; he was equally incredulous with respect to an indictment; and he did not yet despair of receiving justice from his deluded country.

Mr. Whitbread, in reply, observed, 'that the excuse offered by lord Melville for not directly answering questions, in consequence of the mixed state of Trotter's accounts, was strange and incredible:' he argued on the suspicious circumstance of his refusing to give any account of the two sums of £10,000; and declared, that if his lordship would refer the matter to a jury of honor, consisting of the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Windham, and any other persons of equal integrity, he should, in case they acquitted him, feel perfectly satisfied: he concluded by moving, 'that Henry lord viscount Melville be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors.' A long debate ensued; in the course of which an impeachment was objected to, as cumbrous and expensive, and an amendment moved, 'that the attorney-general be directed to prosecute lord Melville for the several offences which he appears to have committed.' This measure was adopted by a small majority; but it was finally determined, on the twenty-fifth of June, that the house should resort to the mode of prosecution by impeachment; Mr. Whitbread being appointed manager. On this occasion, Mr. Pitt delivered his last speech in parliament, and argued strongly for a trial by impeachment, in preference to proceedings by a criminal prosecution.

After the failure of Napoleon's letter to his Britannic majesty, which was no more than he expected, that potentate took a journey to Milan, in order to place on his anointed brow the iron crown of Charlemagne: by a stroke of the pen, he also disannulled the constitution of the Ligurian republic, and incorporated Genoa with the French empire; having, as he expressed himself to its new governor, Le Brun, only one object in view, which was 15,000 seamen: he had in fact set his hopes of conquest on a great naval struggle; in which if he should prove victorious, the invasion of England would then be more practicable, and its success less problematical. The plan which he formed was, to distract the attention of the British government, and scatter its fleets, by despatching his own squadrons, some to the West Indies, and others to the Spanish ports; after which, if fortune favored him, he might effect a junction of all, and collect a force so much superior to that of his adversaries, as to ensure success in a naval combat: this scheme however, although it had a place in

his imagination, was evidently not his principal object: he was not ignorant of the vast coalition now forming against him; and while he was at Boulogne, with his looks directed to England, his thoughts were diverted towards Austria: even before he took the journey to Milan, he observed to de Bourrienne, when he sent him as envoy to Hamburg;—‘I have views with respect to Germany, in furthering which you may be useful: it is there I intend to strike England: I must deprive her of the continent.’ But however hostile were the intentions of Napoleon toward the still independent powers of Europe, they anticipated him in declaring war: the formation of a third coalition against France had commenced, of which England was the centre; and a general rising of Europe was, according to Mr. Pitt’s plans, to reduce the new empire to its ancient boundaries, without interfering with its internal administration: but the project could not be so well executed as contrived. An alliance was contracted with Russia in April; and with Sweden, already allied to Russia, in August: it was agreed that a Russian-Swedish army was to land in Pomerania; and had the power and talent of Gustavus IV. been equal to his zeal and hatred of the French, their emperor would have found in him his most formidable opponent. Austria, inclined to redeem her defeats, offended by Napoleon’s assumption of the royal title at Milan, and alarmed by his occupation of Genoa, accepted in August the offer of a British subsidy, and the aid of those Russian armies, which under Suwarrof had before driven the French out of Italy. Prussia secretly approved the spirit of this coalition, but its ministers in the French interest prevailed, and preserved its neutrality: yet without the accession of this power, an effectual attack on France was hardly probable: its mere neutrality was a protection to the northern half of the French empire.

In the mean time, the British cabinet was in a divided state; and the conflicting sentiments of its members soon convinced Mr. Pitt that the possession of power did not necessarily follow the possession of place. It appears, that soon after the Easter recess, lord Sidmouth suggested the propriety of removing lord Melville from the privy-council; but the premier conceived that both parliament and the country would be satisfied by the resignation of his office: neither party was disposed to yield; and lord Sidmouth, offended also by the refusal of Mr. Pitt to place his friend the earl of Buckinghamshire at the head of the admiralty, instead of lord Barham, expressed his intention of retiring from the cabinet, in company.

with that noble earl and Mr. Vansittart: this extremity however was for the present averted, by the erasure of lord Melville's name from the list of privy-counsellors, and the vote of impeachment which followed; while a little reflection, and perhaps some seasonable advice, convinced lord Sidmouth of his error; and he requested permission to withdraw the proffered resignations: this was readily granted: but his lordship seems only to have courted reconciliation, in order to retire with a better grace: the difference of opinion between Mr. Pitt and himself respecting lord Melville was always ready as a pretext; and on the tenth of July, the two noble lords again sent in their resignations, which were accepted without hesitation; their places being filled up by earl Camden and lord Harrowby; while lord Castlereagh was advanced to the foreign department. All these circumstances, particularly the loss of so able a colleague and tried a friend as lord Melville, occasioned deep mental anxiety to Mr. Pitt, on whom nearly the whole weight of public business now devolved: this anxiety, which was still farther increased by the uncertain state of affairs on the continent, acted strongly on a constitution, weakened by incessant application to business, and a habit of forcing the jaded spirits by free potations of wine, until his appetite began to fail, and his health rapidly declined.

CHAP. XLVII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1805.

Buonaparte's views and preparations respecting the invasion of England—Pursuit of the French fleet by lord Nelson, &c.—Sir Robert Calder's action, and consequent disappointment of Napoleon's schemes—Villeneuve takes shelter in Cadiz—Nelson appointed to the command of the fleet sent against him—Development of Napoleon's plan against the continental powers—His advance—Surrender of Mack at Ulm—Manœuvres of admiral Collingwood off Cadiz—Arrival of lord Nelson—His manœuvres and instructions to his officers, &c.—Villeneuve with the combined fleets puts to sea—Preparations, &c. for battle—Action of Trafalgar, and death of Nelson, &c.—Sir Richard Strachan's victory over Dumanoir—Buonaparte's operations in Austria—Dispute with Prussia—His advance towards Brunn against the allied emperors—Disposition of his army—Battle of Austerlitz—Negociations—Napoleon's indignation against Prussia—Peace of Presburg, and consequences of it—Proclamation against the court of Naples—Conduct of its cabinet, &c.—Its crown conferred on Joseph Buonaparte—The old court retire to Palermo—State of Ireland—Meeting of parliament, &c.—Death and character of Mr. Pitt—New administration under lord Grenville—Affairs of the prince and princess of Wales—Negociations for peace, &c.—Speech of Mr. Canning relating to lord Ellenborough—Mr. Windham's act to limit military service, &c.—The budget, &c.—Bill for the examination of public accounts, and improvement in various departments—East Indian expenditure—Trial of lord Melville—Abolition of the slave-trade—Mr. Canning's opposition—Mr. Fox's illness and death, &c.—Consequent changes in some ministerial departments—Admiral Duckworth's victory—Capture of the Cape of Good Hope—Expedition to Buenos Ayres—Dispute with America—State of Prussia and Naples with regard to France—Battle of Maida—Conduct of Prussia—Her preparations for war—Manœuvres of Napoleon—Battles of Jena and Auerstadt—Napoleon enters Berlin—Berlin decree—Alteration of the continental relations by Buonaparte—Insurrection of the Poles—Sebastiani's intrigues at Constantinople—War between Russia and the Porte.

It has been much doubted whether Buonaparte ever seriously meditated the invasion of England. Many writers, supposed

to be intimately acquainted with his sentiments, and among them his secretary and friend de Bourrienne, maintain that he had really no such intention : but Napoleon himself has declared the contrary ; asserting, that he was fully sensible of the risks with which the undertaking would have been attended, though willing to brave them all for so great an object. From a collation of different accounts, it appears, that, like a skilful tactician, he had two moves in view ; and success in either of these would put a finishing stroke to his mighty projects. If the valor of British seamen, or the fury of the elements, should counteract his schemes on the ocean, the resources of a crafty policy, which stopped at no enormity, would at any time give him an opportunity of turning against the continent that mighty mass of congregated armies, with which he would willingly have subdued his island foes.

It is certain, however, that Napoleon never intended to invade England by traversing the channel under cover of a fog, by aid of a favorable wind, in flat-bottomed boats and gun-vessels : his arrangements were better made ; and his grand aim was to disperse the force which he could not combat in a mass. In pursuance of this plan, his fleets were ordered to assemble from Toulon, Rochefort, Brest, Cadiz, and Ferrol ; draw after them to the West Indies the British blockading squadrons ; and, returning rapidly, present themselves in the channel before the English could be well aware that they had crossed the line. Being thus master of a mighty armament, calculated at seventy ships of the line, he would have embarked his troops on board the flotilla, and transported them to the British shores ; on which he expected to land, march rapidly to the metropolis, and revolutionise the country, before our naval forces could have been collected to prevent his transit, or our land forces unite to oppose his progress : in expectation of the arrival of these different squadrons, long detained in their harbors, his troops received orders to be ready to put themselves on board at a moment's warning : the instructions to marshal Ney, who was to lead the expedition, provided for every contingency : the vessels assigned to each division, and the order in which they were to sail out of the harbor, were fixed : arms, horses, artillery, combatants, camp-followers, all had received their place ; all were arranged according to instructions ; and every man was prepared to embark at the first signal.³ When it is considered that lord Nelson fell into the

³ See Ney's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 259, &c.

snare, and that this mighty combination was frustrated by the accidental encounter of Sir Robert Calder with Villeneuve, it must be confessed that the safety of Great Britain was in considerable jeopardy.

At this time his lordship was in the Mediterranean; and while at anchor off Sardinia, received intelligence that the Toulon fleet had put to sea on the eighteenth of January: he instantly weighed; and after beating about the Sicilian seas for ten days in search of the enemy, ran for Egypt, under the impression that they were bound for that country. Baffled in his pursuit, and grievously disappointed, he then bore up for Malta; and receiving intelligence that the French fleet had put back to Toulon, he proceeded to the gulf of Lyons, where he encountered such tempestuous weather, that on the twenty-seventh of February he was obliged to anchor in the gulf of Cagliari; after which, another severe gale on the eighth of March drove him for shelter into the bay of Palma, which he made his rendezvous. Thinking that the enemy had some object in the Mediterranean, and wishing to draw them into a belief that he was stationed on the Spanish coast, he made his appearance off Barcelona; but without effect: at length, he received intelligence that Villeneuve had put to sea on the last day of March, with eleven ships of the line and seven frigates; and, when last seen, was steering toward the coast of Africa. Still adhering to his first impression regarding his adversary's destination, he covered the channel between Sardinia and Barbary, so as to be certain the French armament was not taking that route to Egypt; and when certain of this, he bore up on the seventh of April for Palermo, and despatched cruisers in all directions, lest it should pass to the north of Corsica. At length, feeling assured that it was not gone toward the Levant, he did all that a provident and able commander could do: despatching frigates to Gibraltar, to Lisbon, and to admiral Cornwallis off Brest, he beat up against contrary winds, and arrived in sight of Gibraltar on the thirtieth; but being unable to pass through the straits by reason of a strong westerly gale, he anchored off the Barbary shore, and obtained supplies from Tetuan.

In the mean time, Villeneuve had hastened on to Cadiz; and Sir John Orde, who commanded the blockading squadron, necessarily retired at his approach: admiral Gravina, with six Spanish and two French ships of the line, there joined him; and the united squadrons, consisting of eighteen line of battle ships, six frigates of forty-four guns each, and four

smaller vessels, set sail for the West Indies; being met in their passage by two new French ships of the line, and a forty-four gun frigate. The combined squadron had 4500 troops on board, under the command of general Lauriston; while 1600 more waited their arrival at Martinique and Guadaloupe; for it was a kind of underplot in Napoleon's grand scheme, to carry by a *coup de main* those of our West Indian islands which might be found unprepared for defence. Nelson, having discovered their place of destination, set sail with ten sail of the line and three frigates; observing to his officers, with that characteristic valor and confidence which seemed to chain victory to our navy; — 'Take you each a Frenchman, and leave the Spaniards to me: when I haul down my colors, I expect you to do the same.'

The enemy had five and thirty days' start; but the British admiral calculated that he should gain eight or ten days on them by his exertions. On the fourteenth of June he reached Barbadoes, whither he had sent despatches before him, and found there admiral Cochrane with two ships of the line; the rest of our West India squadron being at Jamaica: he found also accounts that the combined fleets had been seen from St. Lucie on the twenty-eighth, standing for the southward; and that Tobago and Trinidad were their objects. Nelson himself doubted this, but he was alone in his opinion; and he yielded it with these foreboding words; — 'If your intelligence proves false, you lose me the French fleet.'

Having sailed for Tobago, he found that he had been misled; and, from thence being deceived again by false intelligence, he sailed for Trinidad; but no enemy was there: he then bore up for Grenada, where he arrived on the ninth; and learned that the French fleet had passed to leeward of Antigua the preceding day, and taken a homeward-bound convoy. Had it not been for false intelligence, on which Nelson reluctantly acted, he would, says his biographer, have been off Port Royal just as the enemy was leaving it; and the battle would have been fought on the spot where Rodney defeated de Grasse: this he remembered in his vexation; but he saved the colonies and above 200 ships laden for Europe, whither he had reason to believe his foes were now flying in terror of his name: accordingly, for Europe he steered in pursuit of them; and, on the nineteenth of July, anchored at Gibraltar, where he went on shore, for the first time since June, 1803. He now communicated with his old friend, admiral Collingwood; who, with a detached squadron, had taken his station off Cadiz, to

prevent any progress of the Spaniards, and who had divined the enemy's intention, or at least a part of it; supposing Ireland to be their ultimate object; in pursuance of which, he suspected that they intended to liberate the Ferrol squadron, blockaded by Sir Robert Calder; call for the ships at Rochefort; then appear with about thirty-four sail off Ushant; and, being joined by the Brest fleet, proceed to Ireland: he considered their flight to the West Indies as merely undertaken to draw off Nelson's fleet, which was the great impediment to their design.⁴

Napoleon thought that the British admiral, deceived by his false reports, inserted in journals and spread over Europe by his agents, had proceeded to the East Indies; and it seems that Nelson himself was inclined to take that route,⁵ before he held communication with his friend, who in political penetration was not surpassed by any statesman of that age. As yet however all was conjecture; and Nelson, having again victualled and watered at Tetuan, proceeded toward Cape St. Vincent, cruising for intelligence to the northward, but without success. Still persevering, and still disappointed, he returned to Cadiz; when, ascertaining that the enemy were not there, he traversed the bay of Biscay, and steered for the north-west coast of Ireland: but, frustrated in all his hopes, after a pursuit, which, for extent, rapidity, and perseverance, is scarcely to be paralleled, he judged it best to reinforce the channel fleet; lest the French, as Collingwood supposed, should bear down on Brest with their collected force. On the fifteenth of August, he joined admiral Cornwallis off Ushant; but no news of the enemy having been obtained, he received orders the same evening to proceed, with the Victory and Superb, to Portsmouth.

⁴ It has since been seen that Napoleon's instructions to Villeneuve accorded with these ideas of admiral Collingwood: a squadron was to land 18,000 men to the north of the bay of Loughswilly; then, passing round Scotland, to appear off Boulogne, or to go to the Texel, where they would find seven Dutch sail of the line and 27,000 men, which they were to take back to Ireland. 'Une des deux questions,' he observes, 'doit réussir; et alors que j'aie trente ou quarante mille hommes en Irlande, soit que je sois en Angleterre ou en Irlande, le gain de la guerre sera pour nous. Si votre présence nous rende maîtres de la mer pendant trois jours devant Boulogne, nous avons toute faculté de faire notre expédition, composée de 160,000 hommes, embarqués sur deux mille batimens.' See Life of Collingwood, vol. i. p. 144.

⁵ See a letter of his, dated July 20th, in the Life of Collingwood, vol. i. p. 143.

There however Nelson heard news of the combined fleet: Sir Robert Calder, having been sent out to intercept their return, had fallen in with them on the twenty-second of July, sixty leagues west of Cape Finisterre: his force consisted only of fifteen ships of the line and two frigates; but with this he boldly attacked twenty-seven of the line, three of fifty guns, and five frigates; and succeeded, after a glorious combat of four hours, in capturing two of their line, and defeating the greatest and best combined project ever formed by the master-mind of Napoleon. Sir Robert thought it necessary to bring to his squadron, for the purpose of securing the prizes, in the midst of a dense fog; after which, the hostile fleets remained in sight of each other till the twenty-sixth, when Villeneuve bore away under easy sail to the south-east; and, as marshal Ney has observed,⁶ 'when the army at Boulogne flattered themselves that the French fleet would speedily arrive to protect their embarkation, they learned that the admiral, deterred by a cannonade of a few hours, and the loss of two ships, had sought refuge in Ferrol: a mournful feeling took possession of their minds; and every one complained that a man should be so immeasurably below his destiny. All hope however was not lost; the emperor still retained it: he continued his dispositions, and incessantly urged the advance of the marine. All flattered themselves, that Villeneuve, penetrated with the greatness of his mission, would at length put to sea, join Gauthame, disperse Cornwallis's fleet, and at length make his appearance in the channel: but an unhappy fatality drew him on: he only left Ferrol to throw himself into Cadiz; and it was no longer possible to reckon on the support of his squadron: the emperor in vain attempted other expedients; and made repeated attempts to embark: nothing could succeed for want of the covering squadron.' It is melancholy to reflect on the fate of that gallant officer, who had dispersed this squadron, and together with it the mighty scheme of Buonaparte: Sir R. Calder was soon afterwards brought to a court martial, and severely reprimanded for a victory, which, before the era of Nelson, would have ensured him a coronet. In the mean time, Villeneuve had retired from Ferrol, brought out the squadron from thence, and with it entered the harbor of Cadiz.⁷ It was not long before

⁶ See his Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 262.

⁷ When informed of this by captain Blackwood, Nelson re-

Nelson again offered his services to the admiralty, which were joyfully accepted; when lord Barham, giving him the list of the navy, desired him to choose his own officers. 'Choose yourself, my lord,' was his reply: 'the same spirit actuates the whole profession; and you cannot choose wrong.' He was then requested to name what ships he required in addition to the fleet which he was going to command; and these would be ordered to follow him with all possible expedition. No appointment was ever made more in unison with the feelings of the nation. Nelson considered the enemy's fleet, which he had so long pursued, as his own game; the fair price and reward of his long and incessant anxiety; and the country thought so too: at Portsmouth, it was with extreme difficulty a way could be made for him to the beach through the crowd that was collected to obtain a sight of the national hero. 'Many,' says his biographer, 'were in tears; and many knelt down before him, to bless him as he passed. All men knew that his heart was as humane as it was fearless; that there was not in his nature an alloy of selfishness or cupidity; but that he served his country with a perfect and intire devotion; and therefore they loved him as truly and fervently as he loved England.'⁸

In the mean time, the other part of Napoleon's grand scheme approached its development: being certified of the nature and extent of the coalition formed against him, he hastened to secure Bavaria to himself by the promise of a large aggrandisement of territory: in consequence of this, Austria advanced her troops, and peremptorily demanded that the elector should join the imperial standard: on his evading this request, and withdrawing his army, the Austrian troops were ordered to occupy Munich. Here was an aggression which Buonaparte anxiously desired: he could now give up without disgrace the vaunted expedition against England, whose cabinet, by precipitating Austria prematurely into hostilities, had precisely served the purpose of its adversary. He affected great disappointment in abandoning his scheme of invasion; but instantly dictated to his generals a complete and masterly plan for a continental campaign, apparently the offspring of inspiration, but in fact the result of long and mature reflection.

peatedly said,—'Depend on it, Blackwood, I shall yet give M. Villeneuve a drubbing.'

⁸ Southey's Life of Nelson.

He now suddenly turned his innumerable legions against the devoted territory of Austria: the Germans, with a national forgetfulness of the value of promptitude, calculated his march at ten miles a day; but Napoleon effected thirty! their troops were caught moving, regiment by regiment, from their dépôts; they were attacked in fragments; and enveloped, squadron and battalion, in the rushing masses of the French cavalry. By some infatuation, the emperor gave to the pedantic tactician, Mack, the command of an advanced army of 80,000 men; and with this he had taken post at Ulm, thinking that Buonaparte must follow the same route which Moreau had formerly taken. The French emperor however had divided his immense army into seven different corps, and an overwhelming force was in the rear of Mack before he dreamed of it; so that his retreat was impossible: instead of falling on the Austrian reserves, and attacking one or other of the French corps, he scattered his troops around Ulm; and being beaten on every side, shut himself up with about 20,000 men in that city. The French occupied the heights all around; and Mack, whose brain was in as great a confusion as his army, had no resource left but to capitulate. An imperial bulletin then announced to the troops the capture of 60,000 prisoners, 200 pieces of cannon, and eighty stand of colors in a campaign of fifteen days: 'but a second,' it said, 'awaits us; for we have to combat the Russians, whom England has transported from the end of the universe: the next battle will decide the honor of the French infantry, and will tell whether it be the first or the second in Europe.'

While Napoleon thus addressed his own soldiers, his discourse to the Austrian generals that were prisoners, showed on what field he was still anxious to triumph:—'Let your master,' he said, 'hasten to make peace: I want nothing on the continent: it is commerce, colonies, and ships that I want: my conquest of them would be as beneficial to you as to me.' These words were spoken on the twentieth of October, the day of the surrender of Ulm: the next sun shone on the battle of Trafalgar; where Nelson, annihilating all Napoleon's hopes of maritime supremacy, proved to him, that if France was invincible on land, her great rival was equally so on the ocean.

When Villeneuve retired from the port of Ferrol, with thirty-six men-of-war, he found admiral Collingwood cruising off Cadiz with three line-of-battle ships, a frigate, and a bomb-vessel: the skill with which the latter conducted his small

squadron in the presence of so vast a force, excited much admiration at the time, and elicited great praise from Nelson, whose anxiety was extreme, lest the enemy's fleet should be lost sight of. Being followed by sixteen large ships, Collingwood kept just out of gunshot, on the edge of the current; and determined that his pursuers should not drive him through the straits, unless they themselves followed him. As soon as they perceived his object, they tacked; when the British ships tacked after them: and this occurred more than once; until, at length, the enemy made all sail for Cadiz, followed by that small British squadron, which arrived off the harbor before half of them had got in, and resumed the blockade. As soon as admiral Collingwood was reinforced, he established a strict blockade of all the small ports lying between Cadiz and Algeiras; a measure, to which may be attributed the ultimate sailing of the combined fleets. Napoleon had caused large quantities of biscuit and other stores to be collected at Brest, Ferrol, and Rochefort; but never contemplating the possibility of his armament being turned to the southward, and forced to enter Cadiz, he had made no provision at that port for so large a force.

Nelson arrived off Cadiz the twenty-ninth of September; and on that very day, Villeneuve had received orders to put to sea the first opportunity: the British admiral took every precaution to keep his arrival secret, as well as the numerical force of his fleet; and having chosen a station about fifty miles to the west of Cadiz, near Cape St. Mary, he hoped to decoy the enemy out, while he avoided the danger of being caught by a westerly wind, and driven into the straits. The blockade of the coast was strictly enforced; and captain Blackwood, in the *Euryalus*, who was afterwards joined by four more frigates and a brig, was stationed on the look-out, in order that the enemy might not escape: and such was the vigilance and conduct of that excellent officer, that no movements of the combined fleet ever escaped him; but all were signified by telegraph to the commander-in-chief.

In the mean time, Nelson, as usual, prepared his plan of attack, as far as he could venture to guess at the position in which the enemy would be found, and sent it to admiral Collingwood, who had removed his flag from the *Dreadnought* into the *Royal Sovereign*: the order of sailing was to be the order of battle; the fleet in two lines, with an advanced squadron of eight fast-sailing two-deckers: the second in command, having the intire direction of his line, was to break

through the enemy, about the twelfth ship from their rear: Nelson himself would lead through the centre, and the advanced squadron was to cut off three or four ahead of it. This plan of his commander and friend received Collingwood's most cordial approbation; for he had long thought, that to act with a large number of ships in one line, was a positive disadvantage, both in loss of time and application of power.⁹ Nelson, calling his admirals and captains together, observed to them, that as they knew his precise object to be a close and decisive action, this knowledge would supply any deficiency of signals, and they would act accordingly: his concluding remark is truly worthy of record:—'In case signals cannot be seen or clearly understood, no captain can do wrong, if he places his ship alongside that of an enemy.'

At half past nine on the morning of the nineteenth, signal was made, 'that the enemy were coming out of port;' at three, 'that their fleet was at sea:' on the morning of the twentieth, Nelson's favorite old ship, the *Agamemnon*, captain Sir Edward Berry,¹⁰ which had been stationed as one of the in-shore squadron expressly to convey intelligence, approached very near to the enemy's fleet, and counted thirty sail of the line: this number was reported to the admiral, who, in his anxiety lest they should escape during the night, which promised darkness and squalls, made the following telegraphic signal to the *Euryalus* toward the close of day:—'I rely on you that I do not miss the enemy.' They were observed so well, that every motion was reported; and as they wore twice, it was inferred that they were aiming to keep the port of Cadiz open, and would retreat thither as soon as they saw the British fleet; Nelson was careful, therefore, not to approach near enough to be seen by them during the night. At daybreak, the combined fleet of the enemy, consisting of thirty-three sail of the line and seven large frigates, was distinctly seen ahead, in a close line of battle, on the starboard tack, about twelve miles to leeward, and standing to the south: the British admiral had with him only twenty-seven sail of the line and four frigates;

⁹ Life of Lord Collingwood, vol. i. p. 156.

¹⁰ This gallant officer rejoined his chief, after an almost miraculous escape from the Rochefort squadron, and having saved his ship by his skilful manœuvres, on the twelfth of October. When the *Agamemnon* was reported by the signal officer of the *Victory*, Nelson was at table, and observed to his guests, with unusual glee,—'Here comes Berry: now we shall have a battle.' See *United Service Journal*, No. XXIX. p. 510.

six of the line having been despatched to Gibraltar for water. The enemy's superiority was even greater in the size of their vessels and weight of metal than in numbers: they had also 4000 troops aboard; and great numbers of Tyrolese riflemen were dispersed through the ships. Soon after daylight on the twenty-first, Nelson came on deck, and called captain Blackwood on board the *Victory*, who remained with him upwards of five hours, and only departed when the enemy had opened their fire: the admiral's last words to him were,—‘God bless you, Blackwood; I shall never see you more.’ This presentiment had been long fixed in his mind, but it neither depressed his spirits nor daunted his courage.

The enemy, having steered to the northward, formed their line on the larboard tack; bringing the shoals of Trafalgar and San Pedro under the lee of the British, and keeping the port of Cadiz open for retreat. Villeneuve was a very skilful seaman, and his plan of defence was admirably conceived; his fleet being formed in a double crescent, and every alternate ship being about a cable's length to windward of her second ahead and astern; so that there appeared but very small intervals between them, though the ships were not crowded. Nelson made signal for the British fleet to bear up in two columns; himself leading the weather division, and Collingwood the lee: his last signal, ‘England expects every man to do his duty!’ was then made, and received throughout the fleet with a shout of acclamation. ‘Now,’ said this heroic man, ‘I can do no more: we must trust to the Great Disposer of all events and the justice of our cause: I thank God for this grand opportunity of doing my duty.’ As he wore this day on his breast the stars of all the orders with which he had been invested, his friends became justly alarmed lest these ornaments should attract particular notice from the riflemen known to be on board the French ships: no one however dared to remonstrate with him on this point, as he had formerly replied to a hint of the same kind,—‘In honor I gained them, and in honor I will die with them:’ to such a foible did this great man probably owe his death-wound. The enemy waited for the attack of the British with uncommon firmness, and seemed no less inspired than their opponents, with a determination to conquer or to perish. As Nelson's column was steered about two points more to the north than that of Collingwood, in order to cut off the enemy's escape into Cadiz, the lee squadron was first engaged: viewing therefore the *Royal Sovereign*, as she steered with all sail set against the

adverse line; cut through it at about the twelfth from the rear, astern of the Santa Anna; and engaged that huge three-decker at the muzzle of her guns on the starboard side; Nelson cried out,—‘See how that noble fellow, Collingwood, carries his ship into action: how I envy him!’ while Collingwood, delighted at being first in the heat of the fire, and knowing the feelings of his friend, turned to his captain, and exclaimed;—‘Rotherham, what would Nelson give to be here!’ The nearest of the English ships at this time was about a mile from the Royal Sovereign, which was rushing alone into the midst of the enemy’s fleet: the Fougueux, the next ship astern of the huge Santa Anna, now closed up, to prevent her from going through the line; when Collingwood ordered his ship to be steered so as to carry away the Frenchman’s bowsprit: to avoid this, the Fougueux backed her main-topsail, and suffered the Royal Sovereign to pass; at the same time opening her fire. In passing the Santa Anna, the Royal Sovereign poured a broadside and a half into the stern of that ship, tearing it down, and killing or wounding 400 of her men: then, with her helm hard a-starboard, she ranged up alongside so closely, that the lower yards of the two vessels were locked together. The Spanish admiral, seeing that it was the intention of Collingwood to engage to leeward, had collected all his strength on the starboard; and such was the weight of the Santa Anna’s metal, that her first broadside made the Royal Sovereign heel two streaks out of the water:¹¹ the Fougueux then placed herself on the Royal Sovereign’s lee quarter, and three other ships, one French and two Spanish, on her bow; a number probably greater than could fire at a single ship without injuring each other: the admiral then directed his marines to be removed from the poop, though he remained there himself much longer: at length, descending to the quarter-deck, he visited and encouraged the men, enjoining them not to fire a shot in waste, looking himself along the guns to see that they were properly pointed. The Fougueux at one time got so much on the quarter of her antagonist, that she almost touched, when the quarter-deck carronades were brought to bear on her; and after receiving several double-shotted guns in her forecastle, she dropped a little astern; where, out of reach, she kept up a raking fire, till the Tonnant arrived and took her.¹²

¹¹ See Life of Collingwood, vol. i. p. 172.

¹² There is a diversity of opinion regarding the exact time,

While the commander-in-chief led down his column, the enemy continued to fire a single gun at a time against the Victory, until they saw a shot pass through her maintop-gallant sail: they then opened their broadsides, aiming chiefly at her rigging, in the hope of disabling her before she could close with them. Nelson, as usual, had hoisted several flags, lest one might be shot away: the enemy showed no colors till late in the action, when it became necessary to have them in order to strike: hence the admiral could only recognise his old acquaintance, as he used to call her, the *Santissima Trinidad*, by her four decks; and to her bow he ordered the Victory to be steered. In the mean time, Mr. Scott, his secretary, was killed; captain Hardy was slightly wounded on the foot; and fifty of the ship's crew were put *hors de combat*, before she returned a shot: at four minutes after twelve, she opened her fire from both sides of her deck, breaking through the line at about the tenth ship from the van, and running on board the Redoubtable: thus the enemy's van was left unoccupied; while the succeeding ships broke through in all parts, astern of their leaders, and engaged the enemy at the muzzles of their guns. As captain Harvey in the *Téméraire* fell on board the Redoubtable on the other side, and another enemy was in like manner on board the *Téméraire*; those four ships formed as compact a tier as if they had been moored together: the lieutenants of the Victory, seeing this, very judiciously depressed their guns, and fired with a diminished charge, lest the shot might pass through and injure the *Téméraire*: and because there was danger of the Redoubtable taking fire from the flashes of their guns, the fireman of each stood ready with a bucket of water, which, as soon as the piece was discharged, he dashed into the hole made by the shot. Always humane, even in the heat of battle, Nelson twice gave orders that his fire on the Redoubtable should cease; supposing she had struck, because her great guns were silent, and she carried no flag; but from this ship, which he had thus spared, he received his mortal wound: her tops, like all the others of the enemy, were filled with riflemen; and a ball from her mizen-top, not more than fifteen yards from the spot where he stood, struck him on the left shoulder, about a quarter after one, in the very heat of the action: he fell on his face in

during which Collingwood was engaged alone with the French fleet: he himself considered it twenty minutes, though others believe that it considerably exceeded that space.

the blood of his poor secretary ; but though mortally wounded, his presence of mind did not forsake him : as he was carried down the ladder, he observed the tiller-ropes shot away, and ordered new ones to be rove immediately : then, that he might not be seen by the crew, he covered his face and stars with his handkerchief. When placed in the cockpit, he felt the hand of death on him, and insisted that the surgeon should quit him, and attend to the other wounded men, merely requiring some lemonade to alleviate his intense thirst. Though he was in great pain, he expressed extreme anxiety about the result of the action, which now began to manifest itself by the hurras of the crew, as each ship of the enemy struck her flag ; and when to his eager inquiries, ‘How many had surrendered?’ he was told, ‘Fourteen or fifteen at least ;’ he replied to captain Hardy ; ‘That’s well ; but I bargained for twenty.’ The Redoubtable struck within twenty minutes after Nelson had received his fatal wound ; having been twice on fire, and preserved by her adversaries : the fire of Nelson’s ship was so tremendous, that many of the crew of her enormous antagonist, the Santissima Trinidad, leaped overboard, and, swimming to the Victory, were helped up her sides by the British seamen during the action. Though the Spaniards began the battle with less vivacity than the French, they continued it with greater firmness ; two of their ships, the Argonauta and Bahama, being defended till they lost 400 men each, and the St. Juan Nepamuceno 340. The Santa Anna struck at half-past two o’clock, about the time when the news of Nelson’s wound was communicated to the vice-admiral ; but the Royal Sovereign had been so much injured in her masts and yards by the ships that lay on her bow and quarter, that she was unable to alter her position ; and the enemy was taken in tow by the Euryalus frigate. The decisive superiority of British seamen over those of France was never more conspicuous : five of our ships were engaged muzzle to muzzle with five of the French line ; and in all of them, the Frenchmen closed their lower-deck ports and deserted their guns ; while our men continued calmly to load and fire until victory was secure : according to the confession however of admiral Collingwood, in his despatches, the enemy’s ships were fought with a gallantry highly honorable to their officers ; but about three o’clock, P.M., many having struck their colors, their line gave way ; and admiral Gravina, with ten ships, joining their frigates, stood toward Cadiz. Nelson lived to know how decisive was his

victory ; and the last guns fired were from four of the enemy's van, all French, under rear-admiral Dumanoir : they had borne no part in the action ; and now, when seeking safety in flight, they fired not only into the *Victory* and *Royal Sovereign* as they passed ; but, with that republican ferocity which had not yet departed from the national character, poured broadsides into the captured vessels of their Spanish allies : nay, they were even seen to back their topsails for the purpose of firing with greater precision.¹³ Soon after the perpetration of this base action, Nelson's gallant spirit fled ; his last words, faintly articulated, being, 'Thank God, I have done my duty.'

Admiral Collingwood now succeeded to the command of the fleet, and distinguished himself no less by his skill and prudence after the victory, than by his undaunted bravery in the action. The heroic exertions of our countrymen, whose total loss of men in this battle was 1587, were rewarded by the capture of nineteen of the enemy's ships, with their commander in chief, Villeneuve, and two Spanish admirals. The *Achille*, a French seventy-four, blew up, after her surrender, through the negligence of her own crew, of whom 200 were saved by our tenders. The Spanish vice-admiral Alava died of his wounds ; but Villeneuve was sent to England ; from whence he was allowed, at his own imprudent request, and against the earnest advice of his friends, to return to France : confident in the rectitude of his intentions and the honor of his conduct, he determined to proceed ; and the French government declared, that, being in dread of a court martial, he put a period to his own existence. Buonaparte, when at St. Helena, strongly denied all agency in this mysterious affair ; and gave a minute account of the manner in which the unfortunate admiral proceeded in the work of self-destruction ; adding, 'he need not have done it, as he was a brave man, though possessed of no talent.'¹⁴

¹³ This fact, which must hand Dumanoir's name down to posterity as a monster, is related on the authority of Mr. Southey, in his *Life of Nelson* ; who observes, that the indignation of the Spanish prisoners was so great at this murderous conduct, that when, two days after the battle, seven ships came out of Cadiz, in hopes of retaking some of the disabled prizes, the Spaniards offered their services to fight with the British against any French ships.

¹⁴ See 'A Voice from St. Helena,' vol. i. p. 56. The agents of his government are not considered free from this stain : there does not however seem to be any reason for accusing Napoleon of

After the action, admiral Collingwood shifted his flag to the *Euryalus*, that he might more easily communicate his orders to the fleet, and collect his ships. The whole, as he observes in his despatches, were now in a very perilous situation ; many dismasted, all shattered, in thirteen fathom water off the shoals of Trafalgar ; and when he made the signal to anchor, few had an anchor to let go, their cables having been cut by the enemy's shot : but the same good Providence, which aided them through the day, preserved them in the night ; the wind shifting a few points, and drifting the ships off the land. The gale however coming on from the south-west, increased next day, and continued to the twenty-fifth with a steadiness hardly ever witnessed : till the twenty-third however they lost but one of the prizes, the *Redoubtable* : but during the twenty-fourth and the following night, they were in the most imminent danger ; almost all the ships being terribly crippled, yet having dismasted prizes in tow ; their crews also tired out, with many thousands of prisoners to guard ; while a violent gale blew right on the shore. At length, they were obliged to destroy great part of their prizes, among which were the huge *Santissima Trinidad*, and the *Santa Anna* ; and it was only by unparalleled exertions and uncommon skill, that four could be saved and carried into Gibraltar. On the afternoon of the twenty-third, the remnant of the enemy's fleet, consisting of ten ships, which had not been much engaged, came out of harbor, and stood up to leeward, in hopes of cutting off the shattered vessels that were in charge of the British fleet : this obliged the admiral to collect a force out of his least injured ships, and form to leeward, in order to protect them ; and he then finally determined to destroy what he saw no hopes of saving : even this was a very difficult task, as the sea was running mountains high : to the honor however of British seamanship, not one of our own ships was lost under these unparalleled circumstances.

Thus ended the greatest naval victory recorded in history. Every honor which a grateful country could bestow was heaped on the memory of Nelson : his brother was made an earl, with a grant of £6000 a year ; £10,000 were voted to each of his sisters ; and £100,000 for the purchase of an estate : a public funeral, and a public monument in St. Paul's, was

the crime ; since nothing could have been more easy for him than to have brought the admiral to a court martial ; and who can doubt of the result, with the instance of the duc d'Enghien before him ?

decreed ; statues, columns, and other monuments, were voted in most of our principal cities : but the people of England almost forgot their joy at a victory which annihilated the French navy, in grieving, that posthumous honors alone were all that could be awarded to him, who was peculiarly ' the hero of England.'

The survivors received the thanks of both houses of parliament : gold medals were distributed among those officers who had distinguished themselves ; and never was the dignity of a baron of the united kingdom more worthily bestowed than on vice-admiral Collingwood : he also received a pension of £2000 per annum for his own life, and that of his two next heirs : beside which, he was gratified by the express approbation of his majesty, conveyed through the secretary of the admiralty ; as well as by a kind letter, and gift of a sword, from the duke of Clarence, our present gracious sovereign.

The four French ships under Dumanoir, which ran to the southward at the close of the action, soon shared the fate of their companions : on the night of the second of November, rear-admiral Sir Richard Strachan, cruising off Ferrol, with an equal number of ships of the line and three frigates, fell in with those fugitives, which he took at first for the Rochefort squadron, and gave chase to them : a little before noon on the fourth, they came to close action ; and after a very hard contest, all the French ships, having become unmanageable, struck to the British flag. Thus was the naval power of France reduced to insignificance ; the phantoms of ' ships, colonies, and commerce,' which floated over Napoleon's imagination, were utterly dispersed ; and Great Britain was left without a rival on the ocean.

Napoleon however was soon left without a rival on the continent : after the surrender of Ulm, he reconducted his Bavarian ally to his capital, and entered Austria, where his generals drove all before them as they advanced. On the fifteenth of November he entered Vienna, from which city the Austrian emperor and his troops had retired into Moravia ; for the Russians, whom Mack expected at Ulm, had as yet only arrived at Brunn. Buonaparte, who had gained possession of the bridge over the Danube by the extraordinary audacity of marshal Lannes, advanced and occupied that city, while the two emperors of Russia and Austria rallied at Olmutz : they were at the head of 80,000 men, but the French did not exceed 60,000 ; as Napoleon had been obliged to garrison Vienna, and leave troops to watch the archduke Charles in

South Austria, who, though pressed by Massena, was still in force: a battle however now became a matter of absolute necessity to him; being so far advanced in an enemy's country, with Prussia also irritated and assuming a menacing attitude. The French, in their rapid march to intercept Mack, had passed through the Prussian territory of Anspach, and thus gave a pretext for hostilities: an envoy had actually arrived from Berlin; but Napoleon requested him to keep back his message, until the battle, which was at hand, should be decided. On the twenty-seventh of November the combined armies advanced against the French, who were concentrated to the eastward of Brunn: Napoleon, who had studied well the ground in his rear, retired before them, and drew back his right wing more than the rest of his army; when Kutusoff, taking this for a sign of weakness, resolved to turn that wing, in the hope of intercepting their retreat to Vienna. Thus it was that Buonaparte, by drawing his troops as nearly, as was prudent, to one point, and exhibiting every indication of weakness, timidity, and retreat, suggested to his enemies the dangerous experiment of extending their lines, and exposing their weak parts to the attack of an overwhelming force. On the first of December the combined armies fell completely into his snare: their chief forces were all pushed towards the extreme left, while the rest were diminished for that purpose on the heights in front, which Napoleon had purposely neglected to occupy; and which, being intersected by ravines, favored his project of cutting the Austrian line, when sufficiently weakened by its extension to take the French army in flank. His acute eye watched their motions in advance of Austerlitz; and he exclaimed, 'You shall be at our mercy before the setting of tomorrow's sun.' That morrow was the anniversary of his coronation; and his soldiers, to whom he communicated his confidence of success, and the reasons of it, in a bulletin, promised him the Russian cannon and standards in honor of his fête.

Before the close of day on the first, a firing commenced against the right wing of the French, which was their menaced point; and thither Napoleon hastened to make his dispositions for the morrow. Soult commanded this division, though Davoust had a corps still farther to the right, to prevent the enemy from taking them in the rear: Bernadotte commanded in the centre, and Lannes on the left; Murat with the cavalry being stationed behind them: Bessières was in reserve, with

Oudinot and the guard. On the second, the sun rose in unclouded brilliancy, and discovered the combined Austrian and Russian armies, ranged on, around, and behind the heights of Pratzen; while the allied emperors occupied the village of Austerlitz, to watch the efforts of their soldiers.

The grand attack, as Napoleon expected, commenced on his right, which Soult and Davoust, who were very advantageously stationed in flooded marshy ground, supported with uncommon resolution and skill: the best, both of soldiers and commanders, were required to sustain the impetuosity of the enemy's advancing masses; while Napoleon, fearing lest they should recall their troops, delayed to make his meditated assault on their weakened line with his combined left and centre. At length, being certified that the left of his adversaries was fully engaged, he advanced with his main force, the greater part of which he had kept studiously concealed, as the allied columns were descending from the heights, still in the direction of their left, where they expected the brunt of the battle to take place. Surprised, and attacked during an oblique march, like the army of Marmont in a subsequent period at Salamanca, they were divided, routed, and separated one part from the other; while the French troops gained the heights, and came in sight of the Russian corps of reserve, stationed before Austerlitz. The French skirmishers and cavalry instantly charged in among them; but the emperor Alexander, aided by general Kutusoff, rallied his guards, with which and several other regiments, he attacked his opponents with irresistible impetuosity. The French, so lately victorious, were driven back; their hollow squares were broken, and all was on the point of being lost; when Napoleon, from whom Austerlitz was hidden by the heights, caught sounds of ill omen, and instantly despatched Rapp, his aide-de-camp, with all the cavalry he could muster, to inspect affairs, and act according to their exigency: Rapp galloped off, rallying stragglers as he proceeded; and, when he came up, saw his countrymen in broken squares sabred without mercy by the victorious Russians. Encouraging his men 'to avenge their comrades, and restore the day,' he attacked the enemy at full speed; gave the routed infantry time to recover their order, and to form; when all returned to the charge; and, after a terrible carnage, utterly routed the Russian guards in the presence of the autocrat. This splendid feat achieved, Rapp rode back, with broken sword and bleeding front, to acquaint the

emperor, that his foes in the direction of Austerlitz were utterly routed, and in full flight.¹⁵ In every other quarter success had been secured; and the left of the allies, on which they had built all their hopes, was at the mercy of the victors: it had already suffered dreadful losses; when Soult, who, like Wellington at Waterloo, had sustained every attack unbroken to the last, finally advanced; and then one of those hideous incidents occurred, which render war more like the work of demons than of men. A division of the Russian army, mistaking its way, as it retired before the French, was gradually forced, by Soult's progress, on a large extent of smooth space covered with snow: it was found to be a frozen lake; and the French, halting at the edge, commenced a heavy fire of artillery, not on the unfortunate Russians, but on the ice: this, loaded as it was with horses, men, and guns, at length gave way under the cannonade: in a moment the whole division was engulfed; and Napoleon, who had just galloped to the spot, exulted in the appalling spectacle,¹⁶ and applauded the act. At nightfall, the rest of the Russian troops retreated on Boscovitz, covered by the Austrian cavalry.

This battle, which left 15,000 Russians and Austrians slain on the field, as well as 20,000 prisoners, forty standards, and two parks of artillery in the hands of the French, terminated the campaign. The Austrian emperor, dismayed at his loss, solicited an interview with Napoleon; and this led to an armistice, by which, among other conditions, the French were to remain in possession of all their conquests till a definitive peace, or the commencement of hostilities; which latter was not to take place before the expiration of fourteen days. The emperor Alexander, refusing to become a party to this convention, withdrew his army on the sixth of December toward his own dominions. Napoleon showed considerable forbearance towards Austria, but exhibited against Prussia all that indignation which he had previously stifled. When count Haugwitz, who, before the battle, was prepared to use the language of menace, now complimented him on the successful result, the emperor replied,—‘This is a congratulation, of which fortune has changed the address.’ Railing vehemently against treachery and false friends, he so terrified the Prussian envoy, that he consented to conclude a treaty, engaging his court to

¹⁵ Gerard's celebrated picture of the battle designates this fact.

¹⁶ See Memoirs of Marshal Soult.

resign Anspach and Bareuth, and accept Hanover in return ; thus was Napoleon's object, to set England and Prussia at variance, completely gained. This latter power required the assistance of the former, conjointly with that of Russia, in case of attack ; and both arrangements were utterly incompatible. Hardenburg endeavored to draw his cabinet out of the difficulty, by accepting Hanover as a dépôt, and yielding Anspach and Bareuth, with Cleves, Berg, and Neufchatel ; which two latter principalities were subsequently conferred on Murat and Berthier.

A definitive treaty was signed on the twenty-sixth of December at Presburg, by which Austria not only ceded to the French empire those Italian states that were incorporated with it, or administered by French laws, as Piedmont, Parma, and Piacenza ; but resigned all the possessions which she had acquired from Venice, including Dalmatia, to the Italian kingdom, and recognised Napoleon's royal title. The elector of Bavaria and the duke of Wurtemberg were raised to the rank of king ; and the dominions of these two monarchs, as well as those of the elector of Baden, were augmented by acquisitions from the humbled Austria, who in return obtained only Saltzburg and Berchtolsgaden as a duchy, the hereditary presidency of the secularised Teutonic order, and a guarantee from France for the integrity of her remaining empire. Thus a new and important step was made by Napoleon toward universal dominion. The power of Austria, deprived of near 3,000,000 of her subjects, and £1,600,000 of annual revenue, was now broken ; her bulwarks of the Tyrol and Venice being destroyed, she could look to no means of security but the fidelity of her inhabitants. The southern states of Germany were still more closely connected with France ; and with these changes of territory that had been adopted, all security of possession had vanished ; and those sacred ties, which had hitherto bound nations and princes together, were dissolved. The first instance now occurred of a royal family being dethroned by proclamation. The neutrality of Naples, when evacuated by the French troops, had been violated by the entrance of a combined force of Russians and English from Corfu into its territories, at the express desire of the imbecile Ferdinand, who wished to make a diversion in the north of Italy, in favor of Austria.¹⁷

¹⁷ See Memoirs of Collingwood, vol. i. p. 237, where it is said, that the court of Naples was so ill prepared for the war which it courted, that there was not in all their magazines a supply of

A proclamation was issued from Schönbrun, on the twenty-seventh of December, declaring, 'that the dynasty of Naples had ceased to reign.' Then followed the aggrandisement of the house of Buonaparte; and, amidst the alliances formed for the members of his family, and the possessions annexed to their rank, the kingdom of Naples was conferred on his brother Joseph. In the beginning of 1806, the new king proceeded toward his capital; and Ferdinand despatched his old friend, Ruffo, the fighting cardinal, to Rome, for the purpose of obtaining, if possible, an armistice of forty days, in order that he might abdicate in favor of his own son: but, alas! the cardinal joined the party of the invaders; and, accompanying them to Naples, celebrated a solemn mass in honor of king Joseph's inauguration; while the duke of San Theodoro, who had been despatched for the same purpose, solicited a place in the new royal household; and the marchese di Gallo, late Neapolitan ambassador at Paris, who had been charged with a similar mission, became minister for foreign affairs.¹⁸ In the mean time, the old court had retired again to Palermo; and the narrow straits of Messina, commanded by the British, were sufficient to limit the usurper's power: but, strange to say, the queen, whose intrigues, in every sense of the word, were unbounded; was found, within a few months, engaged in a series of plots with France against her allies and protectors!

At the commencement of the year 1806, Buonaparte had acquired almost absolute dominion over the continent; while England, although uncontrolled on the ocean, was unable to make any serious impression on his power. Undeterred by any fear of a coalition, he was now at liberty to direct his whole force and energy to her subjugation; and if Great Britain had nothing to apprehend from the troops which he might be able to land on the shores of England, other parts of the empire were not equally invulnerable against his attacks. In Ireland, exposed by grievances to the seduction of his emissaries, and accessible by its situation to the invasion of his army, rebellion had indeed been put down; but discontent still lingered there: the fire, which had lately blazed with such fury, was smothered, but not extinguished; and though the moderate catholics were ready to defer the discussion of their claims till the chief obstacle was removed, while the prudent

gunpowder for 6000 men, until it was furnished from the English ships.

¹⁸ See Lord Collingwood's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 239.

and considerate among them were averse to those violent counsels, from which they had already suffered so severely ; it was hardly to be supposed that all were moderate and prudent ; but that many would join themselves to an invading force, whenever it might make its appearance on their shores.

In this posture of affairs parliament met on the twenty-first of January. After suitable congratulations on the late naval successes, and regret expressed for the lamented death of the hero by whom they were achieved, the speech stated, that his majesty had directed the treaties concluded with foreign powers to be laid before the two houses ; also that £1,000,000, accruing to the crown from the droits of admiralty, should be applied to the public service ; and it concluded with a strong recommendation of vigilance and exertion against the common enemy. No amendment to the address was moved in either house, on account of the dangerous illness of Mr. Pitt, now on his death-bed. This distinguished statesman had been compelled, at the close of the last session, to relinquish all active exertions, and retire to Bath ; whence he returned on the eleventh of January to Putney, in a state of debility and exhaustion augmented by political failures and disappointed hopes : his constitution, originally delicate, sank rapidly ; and on the twenty-third of January he expired, in his forty-seventh year ; after having held the first place in the government of his country for a longer period than any other minister of Great Britain. A motion of Mr. Henry Lascelles, made on the twenty-seventh, was carried by a majority of 258 voices against 89, by which his remains were ordered to be interred at the public expense in Westminster Abbey, and a monument, with a suitable inscription, erected to his memory ; while a sum, not exceeding £40,000, was voted for the payment of his debts, without any opposition.

As the founder of a new school, during times of unexampled agitation, in which a contest of political principles convulsed all Europe, it is not easy to command a dispassionate survey of Mr. Pitt's ministerial conduct and character ; for by his own party he has been represented as the preserver, and by his opponents as the destroyer of his country. The causes of this contradiction may be traced to the unavoidable difficulties of his situation, which forced him into measures probably at variance with the original bent of his genius and policy. When at an early age he assumed the helm of state, he at once exhibited a sense of personal dignity, and an uncompromising strength of purpose, which partook largely of the spirit of his

illustrious father : at the same time, he showed himself a steady assertor of popular rights, a strenuous reformer of acknowledged abuses, and a rigid economist : his administration was constitutional and temperate ; and his enlightened efforts were successfully employed in advancing the commercial and financial interests of the nation ; and could he have prosecuted his views through a long period of peaceful labors, he would probably have left but one opinion of his character among his countrymen. But at the awful crisis of the French revolution, he found himself involved in circumstances which allowed no moderate system of policy : his great opponent had openly espoused the cause of democracy ; the aristocratic party immediately rallied round the banners of government ; and the minister's only alternative was to quit the helm, or place himself at their head. His election being made, his stern unbending spirit was engaged to the uttermost in upholding the cause of which he had avowed himself the champion : having embarked in the contest against those revolutionary principles which were desolating France, he considered no price too great for the means of opposing them ; and therefore he employed his talents in raising immense sums on public credit, which he distributed with a lavish profusion, both at home and abroad. Hence too he probably justified to himself his desertion of those principles of reform which he formerly professed ; his ministration to aristocratic rapacity by a profusion of places, sinecures, and pensions ; his leaning toward despotic principles ; and his adaptation of a system of corruption to the machinery of government. Still it must be remembered, that to Mr. Pitt's foreign policy we are indebted for the most glorious termination of a war, carried on for life or death, that ever exalted a nation ; since, notwithstanding the failure of his expeditions and confederacies, to him must be assigned the chief merit of our ultimate success : failure was naturally to be expected from the dissolute and corrupt governments with which he had to do, and which required to be beaten into propriety and discipline : but when they had become thus purified and invigorated, Great Britain, following the system of Mr. Pitt, again rallied them under her banners, united them in a more disinterested coalition, and supplied them with such resources as ensured to them victory in the contest. This eminent statesman therefore was unfortunate in the time of his decease ; not living to behold the harvest, of which he had sown the seed : impartial justice also requires us to confess, that the present national distress, arising from the exhaustion produced by Mr.

Pitt's system of expenditure, cannot wholly be laid at his door : in this case, the best part of his financial plan was interfered with, the worst preserved. Though Mr. Pitt heaped an enormous load of debt on the nation, he provided means for its repayment by an accumulating sinking fund : but his successors not only applied that fund to the current expenses of the state, and thus threw every possible burden on posterity ; but in later times, yielding to an impatience of taxation among the representatives of the people, which was justly reprobated by lord Castlereagh, they changed the whole principle of the sinking fund altogether, or rather abolished it for every effectual purpose.

Mr. Pitt's long administration again concentrated political power in the hands of certain great families : but as their sentiments strictly accorded with those of their royal master, he was not at all anxious to dissolve such a confederacy ; and thus, as an observant foreigner has remarked, ' in the bosom of our free constitution an oligarchy was formed, which subsequently pushed their altercations respecting the offices of state to a scandalous excess, though they were long unable to produce a single leading mind.' ¹⁹ It is highly deserving of notice, that Mr. Pitt's political character has suffered much from his followers, many of whom went far beyond their master, exaggerating his tenets into an indiscriminate aversion to liberty ; and, without sharing either his genius or his courage, involved his memory in the disgrace of their own bigotry and selfishness. They are indeed exposed to a stigma, with which calumny itself never assailed the character of Pitt, whose integrity was unimpeachable, and whose lofty sense of honor kept him wholly free from sordid motives : his adherents however were not all so scrupulous : the war administration over which he presided was one of the most profligate that ever engrossed or squandered public revenues ; and the stain of corruption, thence engendered, so insinuated itself into all the branches of succeeding administrations, that the people at length opened their eyes, and a reform of parliament was the result.

Mr. Pitt's death, at the particular crisis in which it took place, was considered as a virtual dissolution of the administration : his colleagues not only wanted public confidence, but were disunited among themselves ; and the loss of their great leader dissolved the only tie that bound them

¹⁹ Heeren's History of the European States-System, vol. ii. p. 242.

together. In circumstances so discouraging, the surviving members of the cabinet threw up the reins of government without a struggle; refusing to retain charge of them, even at the solicitation of their royal master. To lord Hawkesbury was offered the post of premier; but he deemed it too arduous, and chose rather to retire from office with the comfortable sinecure of the cinque ports.

The formation of a ministry was next proposed to lord Sidmouth, but he also declined the task; so that his majesty was obliged to silence, though he could not subdue, his personal antipathies, and to court the aid of lord Grenville, although he knew that Mr. Fox would be obtruded on him. On the third of February, the new ministerial arrangements were completed; embracing the leading members of three parties, known as the old and new opposition, and the party of lord Sidmouth. The cabinet comprised, earl Fitzwilliam, as president of the council; lord Erskine, chancellor; viscount Sidmouth, privy-seal; lord Grenville, first lord of the treasury; lord Howick, (late Mr. Grey) head of the admiralty; earl Moira, master-general of the ordnance; earl Spencer, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Windham, secretaries of state for the home, foreign, and war departments; with lord Henry Petty, chancellor of the exchequer: lord chief justice Ellenborough also was admitted to a seat in the cabinet: the duke of Bedford went to Ireland, where Mr. Ponsonby was appointed lord chancellor; and Sir John Newport, chancellor of the exchequer: lord Minto was made president of the board of control; Mr. Sheridan, treasurer of the navy; general Fitzpatrick, secretary of war; Sir Arthur Pigott and Sir Samuel Romilly, attorney and solicitor-general. This change extended itself even to the subordinate offices of government; and one so complete had not been effected since the commencement of Mr. Pitt's first administration.

As lord Grenville's office of auditor of the exchequer was thought incompatible with that of first lord of the treasury; and his lordship, though his known opulence precluded all reason for his holding the former place, was not willing to resign a large source of emolument attended with little trouble; a bill was brought into parliament, empowering him to name a responsible trustee for holding the auditorship, so long as his lordship should continue at the head of the treasury. This method of obviating the absurdity of checking a public officer by his own interference, was not regarded with a very favorable eye by the public: the unconstitutional appointment of lord Ellenborough to a seat in the cabinet created a strong preju-

dice in the minds of all true patriots against the new administration: it certainly appeared to be the very worst method for securing impartial justice, especially in political trials, that could have been devised. This combination of the judicial and political characters was understood to have been made at the instance of lord Sidmouth; for whose introduction into the cabinet, Mr. Fox and lord Grenville incurred some censure: but his lordship's parliamentary interest was considered essential to the support of the new administration: his admission was also strongly urged, through Sheridan, by the prince of Wales, who took an active part in the negotiations which led to its formation. A reconciliation, as it was called, had taken place, about a year previously, between his royal highness and the king at Kew; but it was suspected at the time, and may be inferred, from a very remarkable letter, written immediately afterwards by his majesty to the princess of Wales, that his royal highness had an ulterior object in view. That vile tissue of female malice and defamation, which ended in 'the Douglas conspiracy,' had even then commenced; and the prince was eager to withdraw his daughter from her mother's care, to his own guardianship: the king peremptorily denied the prince's right; lord Moira was sent for to negotiate; and lord Thurlow, being consulted, is said to have given an opinion favorable to the father's claim: the king however asserted his superior title, and took the young princess under his guardianship, while he studiously countenanced and visited her mother. The prince by no means acquiesced in his majesty's claim; but an arrangement was at length made, by which the care of the child was surrendered to the king; who, in return, abandoned an intention which he had formed, of allotting apartments in Windsor-castle to the princess of Wales. In this year however the plot was more fully disclosed, which led to what was called, 'The Delicate Investigation:' unfortunately, the circumstances of this revolting case are so connected with succeeding points of historical importance, that they require some general notice, however brief. The duke of Sussex having informed the prince that Sir John Douglas had made known to him certain circumstances respecting the princess, which, if true, might affect not only the honor of his royal highness, but the succession to the throne itself; a formal declaration from Sir John and lady Douglas was submitted to lord Thurlow, who gave his opinion that the matter must be submitted to the king: in consequence of which advice, and some farther examinations, a warrant was issued by his

majesty on the twenty-ninth of May, appointing the lord chancellor, lord Grenville, earl Spencer, and lord Ellenborough to investigate the allegations made against her royal highness. These commissioners examined on oath, not only the principal informants, who charged the princess with avowed pregnancy, and the birth of a boy; but a numerous array of other witnesses, chiefly male and female domestics, who deposed to suspicious familiarities between the princess and several persons specified in the depositions. On the first and most serious part of this inquiry, the commissioners fully acquitted her royal highness; but they added, that strong circumstances of improper conduct had been so positively sworn to by witnesses, whom they could not suspect of any unfavorable bias, and whose veracity in this respect there was no reason to question; that they must be credited till they received some decisive contradiction; and, if true, were justly intitled to the most serious consideration.

The princess complained of what she called a secret tribunal, and a secret judgment, substantially acquitting her, while it imputed to her a system of indecorous conduct on the allegation of witnesses, as false as Sir John and lady Douglas themselves. It does not however seem that justice or decency could have been better consulted, than by submitting the matter to a commission of four cabinet ministers, whose high rank and honorable character would preclude all idea of their subserviency to base motives: even supposing such a tribunal objectionable, it was not chosen by the prince: his conduct, therefore, was blameless on this point: he was only culpable, when, dissatisfied with its decision, he interfered to prevent his majesty from again receiving the princess in a manner due to her rank and station. An elaborate defence was drawn up for her royal highness by her political and legal friends, the chief of whom was Mr. Perceval, and transmitted to the king: nine weeks however having elapsed without a reply, she ventured to repeat her asseverations of innocence, and to request a decisive opinion from his majesty, if not a satisfactory answer to her communication. This application produced a royal message, which, while it contained serious admonition, gratified the princess with a promise of readmission at court; but on her request that a day might be named, when she might have that happiness, the expected honor was suspended, in consequence of the prince's interference, who wished to submit her vindication to his own legal advisers, and draw up a counter-statement. Alarmed at this formidable denunciation, she tried

the effect of another appeal to the equity of her father-in-law, from whom alone, among her relatives in Great Britain, she could be said to have received any kindness or sympathy; but the influence of her husband prevailed over all her expostulations, until those statesmen, who were more inclined to assist her, succeeded in driving her supposed adversaries from power.

The state of Europe, at the death of Mr. Pitt, rendered all negotiation for a safe and honorable peace difficult to Great Britain, which had raised barriers against Napoleon only to be thrown down, and to afford pretexts for his future attacks on the independence of the continent. At the accession however of Mr. Fox to power, some expectations of peace were entertained; and that statesman was said to have taken the foreign department, on account of the facilities which it afforded for carrying his pacific views into effect. No long time elapsed before an artifice was contrived by the French government, to know what terms of peace the new ministry were likely to allow; for Mr. Fox had scarcely been ten days in office, before an alien, named Guillet de la Gevillièrre, arrived at Gravesend without a passport, and acquainted the foreign secretary, by letter, that he had a very important communication to make: Mr. Fox immediately sent a passport, and admitted him to a private interview; but indignantly repelled his disclosure, true or false, of a plot to assassinate Buonaparte: his next step was to make the French government acquainted with the circumstances; while he detained the miscreant in custody, until due precaution could be taken against his designs, if he really entertained them. This communication, which was acknowledged by Talleyrand, with a just tribute to Mr. Fox's character, led to a negotiation, in which the great obstacle to peace appeared to be a determination of the emperor to obtain Sicily for his brother Joseph in addition to Naples: Mr. Fox however was not so deficient in penetration, as to fail in perceiving, from the manner in which Napoleon had treated the courts of Vienna and Naples, and his known determination to degrade the ancient and illustrious republic of Holland into a petty kingdom for his brother Louis, that any agreement called a peace could only be a truce; that every state, which had not the power of resistance, must fall into the vortex of imperial ambition; and that the only temper in which England could maintain peace, would be submission; but to this she had not yet been reduced.

Mr. Fox soon confirmed the public confidence in his nego-

ciations, by the decision with which he rejected the treaty of Amiens as a basis, and insisted on the emperor of Russia being admitted as a party. 'The first wish of my heart,' he said in the house of commons, 'is peace; but such a peace only as shall preserve our connexions and influence on the continent, and not abate one jot of the national honor.' These noble and patriotic sentiments were received with loud acclamations by the whole house, while a murmur of approbation ran through the crowd of strangers in the gallery. Negotiations were renewed in June by means of lord Yarmouth, who had been released, at Mr. Fox's intercession, from that arbitrary imprisonment which he had endured since the recommencement of hostilities. Talleyrand, thinking him a proper person to receive a confidential communication, invited him to a conference; in which he declared that the emperor was willing to restore Hanover, as well as to gratify the British court in other respects; and by casually observing, that France asked for nothing, he deluded his lordship into a belief, that the principle of *uti possidetis*, or present possession, would be admitted with regard to all the British conquests. Pleased at this intelligence, the king sent a commission to lord Yarmouth, but desired him to withhold the communication of his full powers until he should obtain an explicit promise that Sicily should not be alienated from the house of Bourbon. It was hinted in reply, that Napoleon was anxious to add Sicily to his brother's dominion, and would procure the Hans-towns for Ferdinand, as an equivalent: but this answer was not deemed satisfactory.

The French government was at this time endeavoring to draw Russia into a separate convention, in order to obtain better terms by such a disjunction of allies; and her envoy M. d'Oubril, falling into the snare, agreed to a treaty, which, in consideration of Napoleon's promise to recall his troops from Germany, tended to confirm the cession of Dalmatia to France, to render the Ionian islands independent, to expel the Russians from the Mediterranean, and to secure the integrity of the Ottoman empire: yet, so little respect had Buonaparte for his share of the engagement, that he was then employed in arbitrarily breaking ties which connected many princes and states with the German empire, whose constitution, nay, whose very name, he was preparing to subvert: accordingly, a declaration of this new potentate to the diet, that he no longer recognised the German empire, was sufficient to overthrow the structure of a thousand years. Austria voluntarily laid aside

her electoral dignity; and, on the fallen ruins of that ancient edifice, a new one, under the title of 'The Confederation of the Rhine,'²⁰ was erected, of which Napoleon was the protector. It soon became evident that this confederacy was no union, but merely an accession to the protector, for the purpose of favoring his projects, and aiding him in his wars: thus another great stride was taken towards universal dominion; for henceforth it was not in the power of Germany to enter into a combination against France. Prussia now became isolated, and her fall was certain.

Even the disgust excited by this confederation did not induce his Britannic majesty to interrupt pacific negotiations, before he was still farther certified of Buonaparte's insincerity. Exulting in the supposed separation of Russia and Great Britain, Talleyrand, while he still professed his master's wish for peace, assumed a higher tone, and offered less favorable terms. Lord Lauderdale, who had been sent to Paris, as the confidential friend of Fox, to conduct the conferences, soon found that no hope of success remained; and when the adoption of the *uti possidetis* was absolutely disclaimed, both the British envoys prepared to depart: by certain concessions however they were induced to renew the discussions; and it was intimated to them, that beside the restitution of Hanover, Malta and the Cape of Good Hope would be ceded to his majesty, on the condition of his abandoning his other conquests, and exchanging Sicily for some valuable territory in a different part of Europe. When intelligence arrived that the emperor Alexander refused to ratify the treaty which his envoy had signed, still greater concessions were held out for the promotion of a general peace.

That concert however with Russia, which had been sus-

²⁰ The constitution was framed and signed on the twelfth of July by Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, Berg, Hesse-Darmstadt, Nassau-Usingen, and Nassau-Weilburg, Hohenzollern-Hechingen, and Siegmaringen, Salm-Salm and Salm-Kirburg, Isenburg, Aremburg, Lichtenstein, and the count of Leyen: the subscribers made a declaration at the diet of the first of August. Though all the German powers gradually joined it, except Austria, Brandenburg, Brunswick, and Hesse, it cannot be regarded as a voluntary accession: it was the only means of safety: at the same time, it was the sentence of death to many small princes and free cities; of which the former were incorporated into the larger powers, the latter held in possession; and the treatment of the reduced princes by some of their new rulers was sufficiently revolting.

pended by the unauthorised treaty of her envoy, was now restored; and lord Lauderdale was ordered to state, in addition to the demands of his Britannic majesty, the terms on which France might obtain peace with the autocrat: to this method of treating, the French minister acceded, and offered to yield Tobago and Pondicherry; but Napoleon was not disposed to resign his pretensions to Sicily or Dalmatia. As no prospect of agreement therefore appeared, the British plenipotentiary was recalled, even while the French court persisted, with true Machiavellian policy, in expressing the strongest desire of peace: Mr. Fox in the mean time had breathed his last; and when lord Lauderdale returned unsuccessful in his negociation, his passports were accompanied with a note, insinuating that the principles of Mr. Fox no longer animated his colleagues and successors: to this, however, his lordship delivered a very spirited and satisfactory reply.

The first debate in parliament which excited the attention of the country related to lord Ellenborough's seat in the cabinet; a station, which the opposition held to be utterly at variance with his official character as chief justice. Mr. Canning's speech on this occasion, in reply to Mr. Bond, who had ably defended the measure, placed it in its proper light, while it discovered enlarged views of constitutional principles, and a natural superiority to that narrow range of politics, to which at this time he was generally confined. In answer to the assertion, that a judge might with propriety sit in the cabinet, because the very independence of his situation rendered him the fittest person; Mr. Canning observed, 'that he viewed the question in a very different light: he thought that the holding a situation, which was in its nature precarious, and yet an object of ambition, had a tendency to destroy that confidence which resulted from the independence of the judge. He disclaimed all personal motives: he only viewed the point in the abstract, and contended, that when you placed in the situation referred to, a person, who by law had been jealously made independent, you in a great measure did away with the effects of that independence. This would be evident, if it were admitted, and it could not be denied, that the removal of a lord chief justice from a place which was an object of ambition, would be attended with some degree of discredit to him; for, to avoid this discredit, there would at least, on some occasions, be a temptation for him to act in a manner not altogether consistent with his duty and character.' Another strong objection which be pointed out was this: 'that the attention of a lord chief

justice would be distracted in the discharge of his official duties : he would indeed still pursue the objects which more directly regarded his profession ; but, instead of building his fame on the strict and honorable administration of justice, he might be aspiring after other objects of ambition.' The honorable gentleman went on to show that the example was supported by no analogy ; that no expediency had been proved ; and no attempt had been made to show its necessity.

As the state of the army required ministerial attention, the subject was repeatedly debated in council, before any scheme could be matured for the consideration of parliament : Mr. Windham's suggestions were at length adopted by his colleagues, and the plan was at different times perspicuously stated to the house by the right honorable secretary for the war department. He contrasted the steady vigor of a regular army, with the desultory movements of citizens or peasants hastily collected together ; and he vindicated the power of a government to raise men by compulsion for the defence of the country : but so many legal forms were supposed to be necessary for the exercise of this right, that it could not be enforced without the greatest difficulty. To invite and allure men would be the most advisable method of recruiting : let the service then be rendered more attractive, and he doubted not but that a sufficient force might at all times be readily brought into action. If the period of service should be limited, the rigor of discipline mitigated, and the allowance to disabled or retiring soldiers increased, the employment might be rendered very desirable, and the army placed at once on the most respectable and efficient footing : he proposed therefore that soldiers, instead of engaging for life, should in future be enlisted for a term of years only : this term he divided into three periods of seven years each for the infantry ; and for the cavalry and artillery into three of ten, six, and five years ; the soldier being allowed to claim his discharge at the end of each period, and intitled to certain advantages in proportion to his length of service. Desertion, it was said, might be punished by the loss of so many years' service, and corporal punishments diminished both in number and severity : it was proposed also that the volunteer corps should be formed of persons who could serve at their own expense, and that the peasantry should be loosely trained to harass and impede an enemy : this training to be compulsory, 200,000 men being annually made liable to that duty.

The friends of Mr. Pitt disputed the utility of this new scheme, and defended his organisation of military force : lord

Castlereagh, in particular, deprecated the experiment, not only as useless, but hazardous; for while the arrangements were under deliberation, he said, the minds of the soldiers would become unsettled: the regular army had already been augmented by 45,000 men beyond the number which existed in the spring of 1804; and it was expected that a farther increase would soon take place, through an improved enforcement of the plan of his deceased friend. Mr. Yorke asserted that the present time of service was not unlimited; since nothing was more easy, than for soldiers, who had been twenty-four years in the ranks, to obtain a discharge: Mr. Canning also exhibited all his powers of ridicule and argument; attacking Mr. Windham's plan as a visionary scheme, and a contradiction of principles which he had at other times recommended; ridiculing his analogies and illustrations, and condemning the discouragement of those more constitutional establishments, which serve to counterbalance the sinister influence of a large standing army. Notwithstanding all these efforts, the equity of some of Mr. Windham's arrangements, and the utility of others, prevailed in both houses; and his measures passed into a law by very considerable majorities.

On the twenty-eighth of March the budget was opened by lord Henry Petty, who stated the unredeemed debt of Great Britain and Ireland at nearly £566,000,000, of which the annual interest was nearly £27,500,000: the supplies for England and Ireland were estimated at £62,187,465; and among the ways and means, were a loan of £18,000,000, and an augmentation of the war taxes to £19,500,000, to be effected principally by raising the income-tax from six and a half to ten per cent. It was also proposed to raise the war duties on the customs; and, in order to cover the interest on the loan, to make permanent the duty on wine, and impose two pounds a ton on pig-iron: the duty on tea was to be equalised, and a tax imposed on appraisements. The income-tax bill encountered much opposition, but was passed with some modifications: the duty on iron excited such an outcry, that it was relinquished, and a tax on private brewers substituted in its place; but this was assailed with a still stronger opposition, and the deficiency of interest on the loan was made up by an addition of ten per cent on the assessed taxes.

The partisans of the late ministry were not displeased at the odium transferred to the new cabinet by these burdensome imposts: seizing therefore with avidity on the opportunity thus offered, they assailed its members with every species of ridicule and reproach, especially employing the pen of Mr. Canning

out of the house, and his vituperative powers of oratory within, to defame their characters, impugn their motives, and defeat their schemes; and perhaps there is no instance on record, where an administration has received so much abuse, merited and unmerited, as this of 'All the Talents.'

As the burdens of the people were so increased, it was thought right that some attempts should be made to prevent the misapplication or embezzlement of the public money: the chancellor of the exchequer therefore proposed, that, instead of the mere pretence of inquiry, a diligent and accurate examination of public accounts should be instituted: he stated, that beside five commissioners, to whom the task of general investigation had hitherto been confided, two had been appointed for especial inquiry into military affairs, who had been so negligent or inattentive, that large sums had been paid for various services without their knowledge; that during six years, ten, and sometimes twenty per cent, had been taken by an unprincipled contractor out of £700,000 per annum; that with regard to £9,000,000 said to have been expended on barracks, no satisfactory elucidation had been given; that no accounts relative to the pay of the army had been regularly examined since the year 1782; and that £534,000,000 remained without vouchers for a fair expenditure: Mr. G. Rose, however, the general defender of public abuses, declared that only £800,000 could properly be said to be unsettled; and the chancellor of the exchequer admitted that no very large sums were due to the nation from public officers: yet it was evident that great dishonesty and rapine had prevailed, which the former ministry had not properly endeavored to check: and two bills were introduced for the more effectual prevention of these delinquencies; one for the West Indian colonies, the other for the kingdom in general. The following were among the salutary regulations adopted in different departments, for which this administration intitled itself to the gratitude of the nation.

The balances of the treasurer of the ordnance were directed to be deposited at the Bank of England, and payments to be made by draughts on that establishment: the same principle was extended to the excise and customs, to the stamp and post offices, and to the office of the surveyor-general of the woods and forests: the salaries were increased, and the fees of custom-house officers at the port of London abolished: other judicious measures were adopted for the settlement of public accounts: the corn trade also, between Great Britain and Ireland, was placed on the same footing as that between the different English counties.

The accounts of the East Indian establishment also came this session under the investigation of parliament: as stated by a member of the board of control, it appeared that the revenues of the three presidencies for 1803—4, amounted to £13,273,000, while the charges were £13,214,000; that the small surplus was granted to inferior settlements, which also required an additional advance of £245,000; that the debt of the company demanded a sum of £1,500,000 to pay the interest; and that the profit on imported goods still left a deficit of about £1,124,000: a subsequent period being taken, a still more unfavorable prospect appeared; the excess of the charges being calculated at £2,651,900. In one of the debates arising out of this subject, the late governor-general was strenuously defended by his illustrious brother, Sir Arthur Wellesley, who asserted that he had greatly increased the Indian revenues; attributing the augmentation of the debt principally to the necessity of borrowing for the commercial investments at a disadvantageous rate of interest, and to the loss sustained on the trade: Mr. Grant denied this statement; affirming that the increase of the expenditure overbalanced that of the revenue; and reprobating the wars which had been undertaken, as injurious to the reputation of Great Britain for honor and equity, while they had not conduced even to the security of the government. It appeared however to the house, that lord Wellesley was governed more by necessity than choice in his measures, which were in all cases directed to the permanent security of the vast empire over which he presided. Lord Castlereagh proposed, that the company should be allowed to negotiate a loan in England for the reduction of their debt, on account of the comparatively easy terms on which it could be procured: his suggestion however was not adopted; nor did the earnest endeavors of Mr. Paull succeed in procuring the impeachment of the eminent statesman, whose enlarged policy added so much to the power and resources of the British government in India.

A far more questionable case than the preceding was investigated with due solemnity in Westminster-hall, where lord Melville was brought to trial before his peers on the twenty-ninth of April. The zeal of his eloquent accuser was still as fervent as at the first moment of accusation; but that of Mr. Fox and the other promoters of the charges was thought to be cooled by their elevation to power. The articles of impeachment, which were ten in number, contained three principal charges: the first was, that before the tenth of January, 1786, he had applied to his private use and profit various sums entrusted to him as

treasurer of the navy; the second, that he had permitted Trotter, his paymaster, illegally to take from the Bank of England large sums issued on the treasurer's account, and to place them in the hands of his private banker; the third, that he had fraudulently permitted Trotter to apply the said money to purposes of private use and emolument, from which he himself had derived profit. Lord Melville averred that he was not guilty of these charges; when Mr. Whitbread addressed the court in an elaborate speech, and the solicitor-general recapitulated the evidence. His lordship's counsel, Mr. Plumer, who had distinguished himself in the defence of governor Hastings, occupied three days in repelling the accusations; and on the two following days the managers replied: the proceedings were then deferred to the twenty-eighth of May; and a motion of thanks to the managers, made on the twenty-third in the commons by general Fitzpatrick, was agreed to with only one dissentient voice. At the appointed period the peers assembled; the assistance of the judges on certain points of law was obtained; and on the twelfth of June their lordships acquitted the accused of all the charges: on four of the articles however the majority in his favor did not amount to double the number of those who gave a contrary judgment.

The conduct of the new ministers respecting the abolition of the slave trade will long be remembered to their honor: this measure, which had been supported by the eloquence of the late premier whenever it was brought before parliament, but had been constantly defeated by the prevalence of interests, which, as minister, he did not choose to oppose; was now so earnestly pursued, that considerable progress was made toward its accomplishment: a bill was introduced, and carried, though not without strong opposition, to repress this unnatural traffic, by prohibiting the exportation of slaves from the British colonies after January 1807; for it was stated, that neutral powers, having colonies in America or the West Indies, procured negroes by means of English vessels; and that even French and Spaniards were indirectly supplied with them through the influence of British capital: another bill soon afterwards passed unopposed, for preventing the increase of the British slave trade, by prohibiting any vessels from embarking in it beside those that were already so employed. The next measure was a resolution of Mr. Fox, dictated by great prudence; not proposing that the traffic should be instantly abolished, but involving a declaration of the house, that, as it was 'contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, effectual

measures should be taken for putting an end to it, in such a manner, and at such a period, as may be deemed advisable.' So impressed was Mr. Fox with the importance of his motion, as to make the following declaration :—' If,' said he, ' during almost forty years that I have enjoyed a seat in parliament, I had been so fortunate as to accomplish this, and this only ; I should think I had done enough, and should retire from public life with comfort, and conscious satisfaction that I had done my duty.' The resolution was vehemently opposed by lord Castlereagh, the members for Liverpool, and a few others in the West Indian interest ; but was carried by 114 votes against 15 : in the upper house, a similar motion, made by lord Grenville, was adopted by 41 against 20. The last step taken on this subject, during the present session, was a joint address from both houses, beseeching his majesty that he would take measures for obtaining the concurrence of foreign powers in the abolition of the slave trade.

So intirely was Mr. Canning bound by the chains of party, that no ministerial measure, however excellent in itself, or agreeable to his own most cherished sentiments, could secure his support : he suffered, therefore, this great moral question, which on former occasions he had so eloquently advocated, to be carried without his voice being raised to advance its progress, or to celebrate its success : all that he could bring himself to say, on this his favorite measure during other administrations, was cold and brief, intermingled with complaints against ministers, and altogether unworthy of his great mind. The Chelsea-hospital bill, on the twelfth of June, afforded him another opportunity of assailing the ministry with invectives : at the close of an argumentative speech, he zealously warned the house against giving to them that confidence which they claimed ; concurring, as he did, in the opinion expressed by his noble and learned friends, lord Castlereagh and Mr. Perceval, respecting their general system, and the manner of carrying it into effect ; since nothing could form a more ludicrous contrast than their promises and their performances. Speaking of lord Grenville, he observed ;—' My personal esteem and regard for that noble person continue unimpaired ; but to talk of him now at the head of the government, after all that has been seen and heard, and to consider him as the presiding and directing mind, is impossible : in his colleagues, I neither have, nor ever professed to have, the confidence which they now demand ; and by my vote of this night I shall certainly refuse it

to them.' Until the termination of the session he continued to harass ministers by his bitter sarcasms; seconded by Mr. Perceval's legal knowledge, and by lord Castlereagh's extraordinary powers of lengthening out a debate: with such thorns in their sides, the ironical compliment paid to them by his lordship, respecting their 'repose on a bed of roses,' was felt with double force. This active, determined, and powerful opposition, had from the beginning rendered Mr. Fox's regular appearance in his place necessary: night after night his measures were assailed, especially by the ex-secretary: he was dying from the effects of disease, augmented by the cares of office, and a laborious attendance on the house: but no mercy was shown to him by his opponents; nor could he be persuaded by his friends to abandon the post of duty: the floor of the senate is to the statesman as the field of battle to the soldier: the true hero deserts not his standard, but struggles on to the last: such had been the fate of Pitt; and Fox now fell in the conflict of parties, and the encounter of mighty minds; the enfeebled frame became at length unable to support the spirit which still flashed brightly even in the last hours of trial; and his serious illness and death were announced almost at the same time. He expired on the thirteenth of September, in his fifty-ninth year; and was buried in Westminster-abbey; where he reposes, side by side with his great rival. It is no pleasant task to dwell on the faults of an eminent man, who, above all the statesmen of his day, seems to have been loved in his life and lamented in his death: but, unhappily, a large portion of that affection with which he was regarded by his contemporaries was bestowed on qualities which impaired the dignity of his moral character, and rendered his talents less effectual for the public good. Mr. Fox was strongly addicted to all those fashionable vices which too often ensnare genius, and are in turn invested by it in such attractive forms, as to command applause where they ought to excite abhorrence: he was what is called the delight of society; and society not only applauded the irregularities of his lax morality; but, what is indeed rare, contributed to repair the loss of fortune to which those irregularities naturally led: this however deprived him at once of independence and self-respect; and we look to him in vain for that steadiness of principle and consistency of opinion, which distinguished his great antagonist; whose life enabled him to soar above the humiliating engagements of party. In

manners he appears to have been gentle and engaging; 'uniting,' as it has been observed by one who knew him well,¹ 'the seemingly repugnant characters of the mildest of men, and the most vehement of orators.' 'To speak justly of his powers in this latter respect,' says the above acute discriminator, 'requires a long essay:' the concise but accurate sketch of them, which he has himself drawn up, will be more acceptable to the reader:—'Every where natural, he carried into public something of that simple and negligent exterior which belonged to him in private. When he began to speak, a common observer might have thought him awkward; and even a consummate judge could only have been struck with the justness of his ideas and the transparent simplicity of his manners: but no sooner had he spoken for some time, than he was changed into another being: he forgot himself and every thing around him; he thought only of his subject: his genius warmed and kindled as he went on: he darted fire into his audience: torrents of impetuous and irresistible eloquence swept along their feelings and conviction. He certainly possessed, above all moderns, that union of reason, simplicity, and vehemence which formed the prince of orators—the quiet dignity of a mind roused only to great objects; but the absence of petty bustle, the contempt of show, the abhorrence of intrigue, the plainness and downrightness, and the thorough good nature, which distinguished Mr. Fox, seem to render him no unfit representative of the old English character, which, if ever changed, we should be sanguine indeed to expect to see succeeded by a better.'

Peace was the darling wish of Fox's heart, though he scorned to purchase that blessing by the slightest sacrifice of national honor: having commenced the negociation, of which an account has been already given, he was spared the pain of seeing the intricate policy and inordinate ambition of the French government triumph over his favorite object; while he felt, and expressed great satisfaction, at leaving the old associates of his career fixed in the employments and honors of the state: those friends, however, thrown as they were by their predecessors into circumstances of extraordinary difficulty; laboring in part under the personal antipathy of their sovereign; hated for their system of policy by a tory aristocracy; and exposed to the clamor of the people, because they could not, in spite of innumerable obstacles, bring their system into immediate operation;—were not destined long to survive their

¹ The late Sir James Mackintosh,

illustrious chief. After his decease, lord Howick was appointed to the foreign office; Mr. Thomas Grenville took the place of lord Howick; lord Sidmouth succeeded to the presidency of the council, from which earl Fitzwilliam retired, on account of ill health; and lord Holland accepted the privy seal. A dissolution of parliament, after a very short duration, immediately and unexpectedly ensued; but the returns were not such as to add materially to the influence of administration.

The successes, which still continued to distinguish the fleets of Great Britain, now demand our attention. At the close of the preceding year, admiral Villaumez, accompanied by Jerome Buonaparte, succeeded in escaping from port with eleven sail of the line and several frigates: after remaining in company for ten days, the fleet separated into two squadrons; one of which, consisting of five ships of the line, two frigates, and a corvette, under the command of admiral Le Seigle, steered for St. Domingo, and on the sixth of February was discovered by admiral Sir J. T. Duckworth, with seven ships of the line, and some frigates, to windward of Ocoa bay; when, after a furious action, three French ships of the line struck, the other two were driven on shore and burnt, and the smaller vessels got off: the other squadron, of six sail of the line and three frigates, under Villaumez, originally destined for the Cape of Good Hope, having received intelligence of the capture of that settlement, steered to the coast of Brazil, and thence to the West Indies: in June, admiral Cochrane, with only four sail of the line and three frigates, discovered them near Barbadoes, but did not think it safe to hazard an engagement with so great a disparity of force; their ruin however was soon afterwards effected by the fury of the elements, in a tremendous gale on the eighteenth of August. The French admiral reached the Havannah with extreme difficulty; three of his vessels were destroyed on the American coast; another escaped into Brest; and the Veteran, of seventy-four guns, commanded by Jerome Buonaparte, was stranded on the coast of Britany.

Admiral Linois had long carried on a predatory warfare in the Indian seas; and the Isle of France had been the grand dépôt of his plunder, whence it had been conveyed to France; and thither the admiral's ship, the Marengo, of eighty guns, and the Belle Poule, of forty, were this year bending their course, when they were overtaken by Sir J. B. Warren, with one of the squadrons despatched in pursuit of Jerome Buonaparte; and on the morning of the thirteenth of March, after a

running fight of three hours, they were compelled to strike, and thus afford some atonement for their depredations on our commerce.

Five large frigates and two corvettes, with troops on board for the West Indies, having escaped from Rochefort in September, were encountered at sea by a British squadron, under Sir Samuel Hood; who, after a running fight of several hours, captured four: the loss of the English was small; but Sir Samuel unfortunately lost his arm. Several gallant actions of less importance took place during the course of the year: an expedition against the Cape of Good Hope, consisting of 5000 men, under Sir David Baird, with a naval force commanded by Sir Home Popham, set sail from England in August 1805, and arrived on the fourth of January following: on the eighth the troops moved forwards, and forced the enemy, who were about equal in numbers, to a precipitate retreat. The governor-general, Jansens, seemed disposed to maintain himself in the interior; but general Beresford being sent against him, he was induced to surrender, on condition of his forces being conveyed to Holland at the expense of the British government, without being considered prisoners of war.

Sir Home Popham, who in 1804 had been appointed to confer with the insurgent general Miranda concerning his views on South America, had long held an opinion, that an expedition ought to be despatched against the Spanish settlements on the Rio de la Plata; and after his success at the Cape, he directed his thoughts to the conquest of Buenos Ayres, taking on himself a very extraordinary degree of responsibility. Having persuaded Sir David Baird to furnish him with a small body of troops, under general Beresford, he proceeded to St. Helena, where he obtained a small reinforcement to his little army, which even then did not exceed 1600 men, including marines. With this insignificant force he arrived at the mouth of the Rio de la Plata in June, and on the twenty-fourth landed his troops without resistance, about twelve miles from Buenos Ayres: after having dispersed a body of Spaniards, who fled at the first fire, general Beresford entered the city on the twenty-seventh; the viceroy having retreated to Cordova with the small force under his command. In the mean time, the squadron made a demonstration before Monte Video and Maldonado, where the regular troops of the colony were stationed; the defence of Buenos Ayres, supposed from its situation to be less liable to attack, having been committed to the militia. Favorable terms were granted to the inhabitants,

and the property of individuals on shore was respected; but a large booty was made of public money, and commodities, and of the shipping in the river.

The Spaniards were at first taken by surprise; but, on recovering from their panic, they collected the few troops in the neighborhood, under the direction of Liniers, a French colonel in the Spanish service, who crossed the river in a fog, on the fourth of August, with about 1000 men, unobserved by the British cruisers: on the twelfth, a desperate action took place in the streets and great square of the town; when the English, after losing 165 in killed, wounded, and missing, were ultimately compelled to surrender; but, contrary to the articles of capitulation, they were marched up the country. Sir Home Popham blockaded the river till October, when the arrival of troops from the Cape enabled him to make an attack on Monte Video, in which he was unsuccessful: on the twenty-ninth a body of troops was landed at Maldonado, and the Spaniards were driven from thence, and also from the isle of Gorriti.

Lord Howick, on the nineteenth of December, announced the recall of Sir Home Popham in terms of severe reprehension; and on the seventeenth of February following, that officer, when he arrived in London, was put under arrest, preparatory to a trial, for acting without orders, and for leaving the Cape in an unprotected state: after an able defence, he was sentenced by the court to be severely reprimanded.

Some disputes of an important character took place at this time between Great Britain and the United States of America. The complaints of the Americans were comprised in three heads:—first, the practice of impressing British seamen found on board their merchant vessels on the high seas; secondly, the violation of their rights as neutrals, by seizing and condemning their merchantmen, though engaged in what they considered lawful commerce; and, thirdly, the infringement of their maritime jurisdiction on their own coasts. On the first point, it was urged that native Americans were frequently impressed under pretence of their being Englishmen, and constrained to serve in the British navy; and the public mind throughout the United States was inflamed with exaggerated reports, stating that thousands of their citizens were in this situation: the second ground of complaint arose from a desire, on the part of the Americans, not only to trade with the colonies of a belligerent, in a manner that would not be permitted in a time of peace; but to become the carriers of their produce

to the mother country ; protecting it at the same time under their neutral flag : the third point, which merely required that the extent of their maritime jurisdiction should be defined, admitted of easy adjustment.

An amicable arrangement of these differences being equally desirable to both parties, a special mission was despatched to England, and conferences were opened in London by lords Holland and Auckland on one side, and by Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney on the other. After some deliberations concerning an efficient substitute for the practice of impressment, the latter consented, though contrary to their instructions, to pass on to the other subjects of negociation ; receiving an assurance that the right should be exercised with great caution, and immediate redress afforded on the representation of any injustice. On the subject of intercourse with the colonies of the enemy, a rule was established for defining the difference between a continuous and an interrupted voyage ; while it was expressly stipulated, that on re-exportation, there should remain, after the drawback, a duty to be paid of one per cent, *ad valorem*, on all European articles, and not less than two per cent on colonial produce. The maritime jurisdiction of the United States was guarantied ; and some commercial stipulations were framed for the reciprocal advantage of the two countries ; but the American president, Mr. Jefferson, refused to ratify the treaty.

Turning their attention to foreign politics, ministers could not fail to observe the rising spirit of discord between France and Prussia ; and though they did not hail it with that joy with which it would have affected Mr. Pitt, still they considered themselves bound to watch its progress : they also attended to the state of Italy ; particularly of Naples, where a French usurper was enabled, by his brother's arms, to exercise the functions of royalty : the Calabrians however ventured to dispute the legitimacy of his pretensions ; and Ferdinand's queen was so anxious to profit by the loyalty of those rude mountaineers, that she importunately urged the British general, Sir John Stuart, to aid them in their exertions : he, accordingly, sailed with about 5000 men ; and, soon after his landing on the coast, found a body of French troops, superior to him in numbers, in a strong position near the town of Maida. General Regnier, their commander, who might have defied all assaults on his post, relinquished that advantage, and came down with confidence to meet his adversaries on the plain : a vigorous cannonade and fire of musketry did considerable exe-

cution on the French as they advanced: both parties however soon ceased firing, and a trial of courage ensued, presaging, as it were, the final result of the great contest in which their countries were engaged. The left wing of the French advanced with alacrity, was met by its opponents, and the bayonets of the two lines were crossed: at that fearful moment a slight sound from the French weapons, as they jarred against the firm steel in the grasp of their adversaries, gave indication of nervous apprehension: weighed in the balance, by that sign they were found wanting; in another moment the British bayonet was thrust home, and the plain was strewn with dead and wounded. Undismayed by this reverse, Regnier then stimulated the efforts of his right wing to turn the left of their antagonists; but the troops employed in that service were suddenly taken in flank, and routed by a reinforcement which had landed that morning, under the command of colonel Ross. Above 2000 of the enemy were killed or wounded; while those captured in the pursuit, and at the neighboring posts, were still more numerous: yet Sir John Stuart declined a prosecution of the contest, since the French still had a large force in the kingdom; and he was disgusted at the atrocities committed by the Calabrese insurgents, who were for the most part banditti, intent only on pillage and murder. After various conflicts, these worthy partisans of the king of the lazzaroni² were reduced to submission; when, under the severe and summary discipline of French rulers, they attained to a degree of civilisation unknown before or since that period. In the mean time, Ferdinand and his queen were confined to Sicily; where the former consoled himself with the pleasures of the chase; and the latter commenced a series of the most base and dishonorable intrigues with the enemy against her protectors and her subjects, which eventually led to her expulsion from the island.

We must now revert to circumstances, which had the effect of stimulating another state to wrestle with the gigantic power of France, and to form the fourth continental coalition. It has been already observed, that the only nation bordering on the French territories, which yet stood erect, was Prussia: she had acted an unworthy and an imprudent part, and was soon about to become the victim of her own fatuity. Having signed two treaties, one by Haugwitz with Napoleon, and another by Hardenburg with England, both at the end of 1805, she became

² So Ferdinand was commonly styled at Naples.

perplexed through her bad faith, and obtained advantage from neither: she naturally hesitated to accept Hanover, and shut her ports against England; but as Anspach, Cleves, and other territories ceded by Haugwitz, were already seized by the French, her desire of securing an equivalent overcame her sense of justice; and she occupied Hanover with her troops. Her conduct naturally raised a vehement outcry against her in the British parliament; where the conduct of her monarch, who before the battle of Austerlitz might have been called the arbiter of Europe, was designated as an example of 'all that was contemptible in servility and odious in rapacity:' war was denounced against him, and British ships blockaded his ports. Napoleon in the mean time pursued his plans; libelling Hardenburg in the *Moniteur*, and accusing him of selling his country, until he procured his dismissal, notwithstanding the support and interference of the queen. But whilst Prussia had brought herself into this state of degradation for the sake of Hanover, her surprise was extreme to learn, that Buonaparte, in his negotiations with the British government, had offered to restore that country as the price of peace. It was evident that the French emperor considered Prussia in the light of a worthless instrument, which he could dispose of at his pleasure; but the mistrust and alarm which this conviction created was greatly augmented by the confederation of the Rhine, erected without the consent, or even the knowledge, of the Prussian government: this confederacy was ratified in July, when a cessation of diplomatic discussions took place between Great Britain, Russia, and France. In August Prussia sounded the trump of war by increasing her army, and calling out its reserves: but if it was imprudence in this power to have decided on war, it was madness not to have waited for the aid of Russia, and to have entered sincerely into the bond of union with Great Britain: yet lord Morpeth, who was sent on a special mission to the Prussian head-quarters, found the wavering monarch so distracted between the temptation of a British subsidy, and the necessity of disgorging Hanover, and encountered so much evasion on this account, that he could scarcely conceal his disgust and indignation.

For the purpose of forming alliances with Saxony and Hesse, the former of which states was unwillingly compelled into an alliance by the advance of Russian troops, and the latter determined on neutrality; the Prussian army advanced south to Weimar, far from its own territory, and the succor of its great northern ally: thus the blunder of Mack at Ulm was

repeated. The first hostile movement was on the twelfth of September: on the twenty-fifth Napoleon left Paris, crossed the Rhine on the first of October, and on the sixth was at Bamberg, the rendezvous of his army. The king of Prussia, without experience or capacity, had placed himself in the hands of his queen, whom Napoleon ridiculed in his bulletins; and a council of generals, of whom the celebrated duke of Brunswick was generalissimo; a chief noted for his incapacity. The army which he commanded was scattered from Eisenach to Weimar; and as it had advanced so far, it should have taken the offensive, and pushed still farther on. The French came from the south; and as the road by which the Prussians had marched, by which they must retire, and along which lay their magazines, was in a north-easterly direction towards Leipsic, and consequently oblique to the French; Napoleon determined to march on it rather than on Weimar: by this manœuvre he cut his adversaries off from their home and magazines; the only resistance being made at Saalfeld by prince Louis, who was slain in the combat. The French now occupied the course of the Saal; their main force being collected at Jena under Napoleon; while two divisions, under Davoust and Bernadotte, were stationed at Nuremberg, and on the high road from Weimar to Leipsic and Berlin. To dislodge these, and restore their intercepted communications, was now the grand object of the Prussians: accordingly, the greater part marched under the king and his generalissimo to dislodge Davoust, whom they met at Auerstadt; while the remainder, under prince Hohenlohe, advanced against Napoleon at Jena: the two encounters took place on the same day, the fourteenth of October.

The issue of these conflicts proved more disastrous to the Prussians, than that of Austerlitz in the preceding year had proved to the Austrians. The battle of Jena was easily gained, but Davoust had a much harder task than Napoleon; being opposed to triple his numbers, and destitute of cavalry; while Bernadotte, who was ordered to assist him, declined to go on a pretence of etiquette, and a mistake respecting the main body of the Prussians; which, like Napoleon, he thought was at Jena. The routed troops from both fields, as they mingled in their flight, informed each other of the extent of the disaster; and their monarch sent to request an armistice, which was refused. On the following day, Erfurdt surrendered to Murat, with 100 pieces of artillery and 14,000 men; while various other fortresses were delivered up, even to the surprise of the enemy themselves. The remains of the grand army fled

in the direction of Magdeburg; and on the twenty-fifth Napoleon entered Potsdam: he then descended into the tomb of Frederic the Great, the only modern general whom he affected to reverence; but he despoiled the palace of Sans Souci of that hero's sword, and the colors taken in the seven years' war, which he sent as trophies to the Hotel of the Invalids at Paris. On the twenty-seventh he made his triumphant entry into Berlin, where he treated the civic authorities and courtiers with bitter scorn and sarcastic taunts; threatening to reduce those nobles of the court so low, 'that they should be obliged to beg their bread.' He found afterwards, to his cost, that a deeper wound may be inflicted on a generous people by a moral, than a political degradation. On the twenty-first of November was issued the famous Berlin decree, declaring the British isles in a state of blockade. Napoleon was now advancing toward universal conquest with giant strides: in a few weeks all the Prussian provinces, with their fastnesses, were in his hands, as far as the Vistula; behind which river their king had sought refuge with his Russian ally. A separate peace and alliance was now concluded between France and Saxony; which being raised to the rank of a kingdom, promptly acceded to the confederation of the Rhine: on the other hand, the elector of Hesse was rewarded for his neutrality by expulsion from his territories; and 'the houses of Hesse-Cassel and Brunswick ceased to reign.' The French armies also occupied the free city of Hamburg, against which the emperor had no assignable cause of war: but it was necessary to shut this great commercial port against the English.

With Prussia the grand bulwark of Russia fell; and the conqueror entertained a project of raising up an independent throne on the very frontiers of the great northern power: the injured Poles were summoned to insurrection, and an auxiliary army was formed in Prussian Poland. The establishment of a Polish legion showed from the first how this country lay within the scope of Buonaparte's policy; but it happened, that the only just and equitable scheme in that policy never had effect; and Napoleon, during the disasters of his retreat from Moscow, had cause to lament bitterly his illusive promises to the unfortunate Poles.

The hopes of safety entertained by Frederic William from his northern ally, were much diminished by the war, which at this time broke out between Russia and Turkey. Sebastiani, who had been sent by Napoleon to Constantinople, succeeded, after a few days of intrigue, in destroying the amicable relations

existing, not only between Russia and the Porte, but also between this latter power and Great Britain : in a moment, the invasion of Egypt was forgotten ; and the French ambassador was seen arming the batteries of Constantinople, and commanding its militia against the English. As war followed on the Danube, this caused a powerful diversion of the Russian force, which might otherwise have extended a more efficient support to the Prussian fugitives.

END OF VOL. XVIII.

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